VERY PECULIAR PEOPLE *Portrait Studies in the Queer, the Abnormal and the Uncanny* WITH EIGHT PLATES

Santi di Tito's Portrait of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi
After Litta (See page 122)

Eusapia Palladino
After Courtier and by permission of the Institut General Psychologique

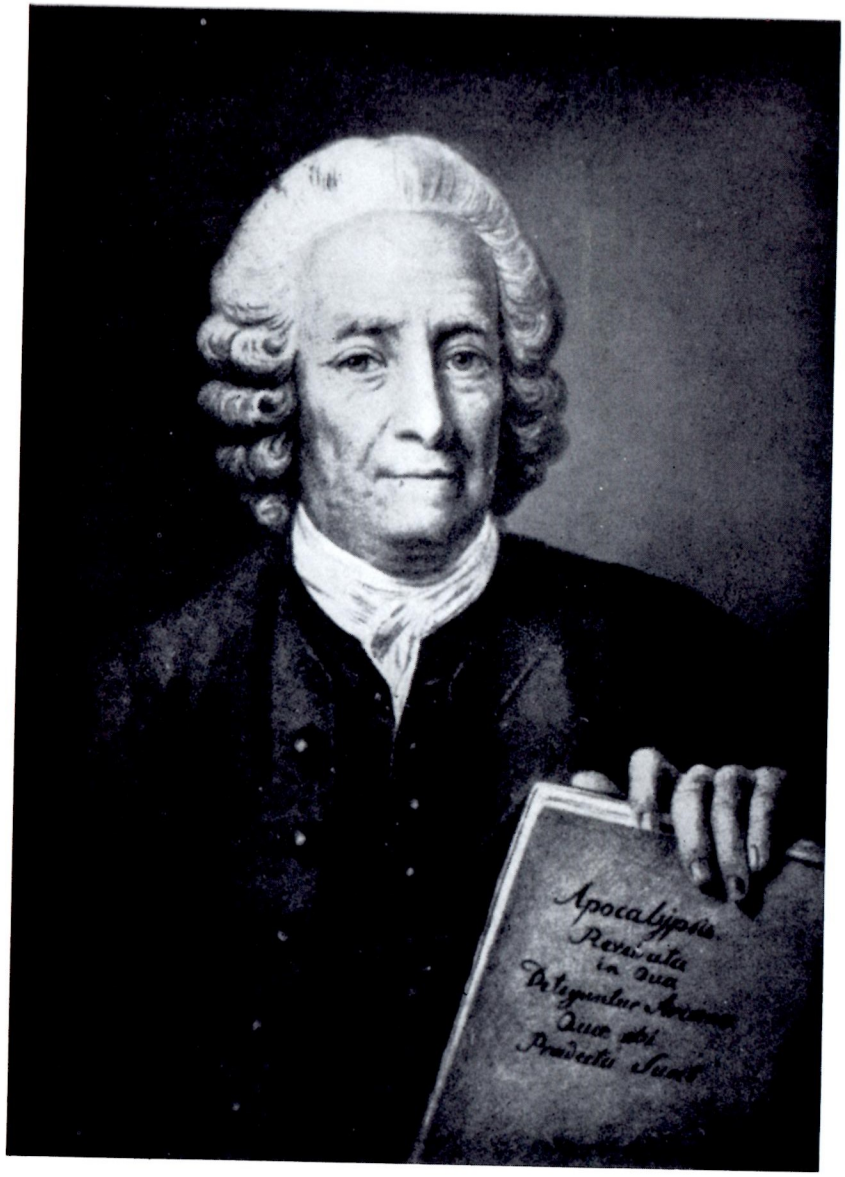
HADRIAN BEVERLAND
From a print in the British Museum

HADRIAN BEVERLAND WITH HIS MISTRESS
From a portrait in the British Museum

SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE
German; seventeenth century

A MEDIAEVAL FLAGELLANT
Italian; seventeenth century

THE DOMINICANS ATTEND TO JETZER'S STIGMATA
After D. Schilling's "Luzerner Chronik" by permission of Roto-Sadog S.A. and the Buergerbibliothek and Korporationsgueter-Verwaltung of Lucerne *(See page 76)*



EMANUEL SWEDENBORG
By permission of the Swedenborg Society

VERY PECULIAR PEOPLE *Portrait Studies in the Queer, the Abnormal and the Uncanny*

WITH EIGHT HALFTONE PLATES

BY *Eric John Dingwall*, M.A., D.SC., PH.D.

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INTRODUCTION

By JOHN C. WILSON

The reader drawn to this book who does not know Dr. Dingwall's previous work, and in particular his SOME HUMAN ODDITIES, can read this book profitably if he understands that he is reading the work of one of the world's greatest, and most renowned psychical researchers. Only one of the five personalities dealt with in this book is, in the usual formal sense, a subject for psychical research, the amazing medium, Eusapia Palladino. The point is, however, that when one really understands what it is all about, it becomes clear that the subject matter of psychical research did not begin with modern mediums, but is as old as mankind. Psychical research is, quite simply, the genuinely informed way to study these phenomena. That is why Dr. Dingwall is able to give us a new understanding of Emanuel Swedenborg, of a flagellant saint (Chapter 3), of both deceivers and deceived (Chapter 2) and of the gamy Lord of Zealand, (Chapter 4).

Perhaps the best introduction to this book is a few lines near its end, from Dr. Dingwall's essay on Eusapia Palladino:

> "To see the scientific man in the seance room is often to realize how little this scientific training has done to help him to make objective studies and come to balanced judgments. He often reveals himself as a mere technician, skilled in one particular branch of inquiry.
>
> "In psychical research much more is needed than an expert acquaintance with only one subject. In this field the investigator must be something of an anthropologist, psychologist and statistician combined. But above all he must know human beings, and try to understand as far as he is able why and how they behave as they do. He must have infinite patience and learn to suffer fools gladly, and at the same time have a thorough acquaintance with the principles underlying conjuring, fraud generally and the psychology of misdirection.
>
> "Since there is no training to be obtained in psychical research it follows that there are hardly any reliable psychical researchers, although there are many who style themselves such. No young man or woman without substantial private means is likely to embark on so hazardous, so hard and so unpopular a course of study. The result is that from century to century we go floundering on in a morass of

doubt, fraud, imbecility and incompetence. Yet it is probable that some of the problems could be settled in five years at the cost of a few thousand pounds. The lack of money is one of the fundamental difficulties in psychical research. It was money that took Eusapia Palladino to the United States, there to meet with her final and most publicized disaster."

The one question that Dr. Dingwall treats of not at all in this book is the question, why, when so many new sciences have money found for them, does this new science not have money found for it? I am sure it is quite obvious to Dr. Dingwall, as it must be to anyone who ponders this, that the most profoundly vested interests, deeply rooted in great institutions, can be responsible for the fact that psychical research is permitted to starve.

A harbinger of what psychical research can do for us will be found by the reader in this book.

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH THIS book may perhaps be regarded as a sequel to my former collection of queer people,[1] it is complete in itself, and the treatment of the characters herein portrayed is somewhat different from that previously employed. Too many of my critics seem to have failed to realize that it was not my intention to provide the reader simply with a series of amusing and sometimes unpleasant biographical trivia, but, by using the characters to illustrate my thesis, to draw the attention of the student to problems so complex and obscure that any real understanding of them can hardly be said to exist. Many of my correspondents have complained that I have offered no solution to the questions that each portrait was intended to illustrate, and that a more detailed treatment would have been acceptable in the text, while the documentary references and additional cases could have been relegated to the appendixes. For these suggestions I am grateful to my friendly critics, but at the same time I must again emphasize the fact that one of my principal aims was to present the reader with portrait studies each of which illustrated an unsolved problem. It was because I did not know what explanations could be given of the incidents described in *Some Human Oddities* that I drew attention to them, and pleaded for a more rational approach towards similar events which are still reported today, since adequate scientific examination of modern cases might throw light upon those recorded in the past.

In response, however, to numerous requests I have, in the present volume, discussed in rather fuller detail the problems which are connected with the persons dealt with in the following pages.

Although the literature about Swedenborg is immense I am not aware that an attempt has hitherto been made in English to present his spiritual journey in what, I am convinced, is the only setting in which it can be even partially understood. In discussing Swedenborg's hallucinatory system I have also taken the opportunity to analyse the evidence for his alleged supernormal powers, and in the Appendix to Chapter I the reader will find other strange cases discussed, some of which I venture to think may be new to the majority of British psychologists whose duty it is to examine these things.

In the story of Johann Jetzer, now discussed in detail for the first time in English, I have examined most of the data afresh and have tried to sum up the evidence in such a way that the reader will be able to form his own conclusions. He will find here not only what is, I hope, an impartial account of this extraordinary affair, but also a discussion of similar phenomena recorded throughout the ages, including a survey of the very remarkable bleeding pictures of Poitiers.

[1] *Some Human Oddities* (University Books, 1962).

The history of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi is the story of flagellation as illustrated in the life of a sado-masochist. In the Appendix to Chapter III I have tried to explain the meaning of this strange passion and its relation to the problem of the efficacy or otherwise of corporal punishment. From a consideration of the erotic side of the flogging mania it is easy to pass to Hadrian Beverland, that fantastic classical scholar whose detailed story is here presented for the first time in any language. His history may be compared with that of the Bottler of Spirits in my *Some Human Oddities*, although the reasons for Beverland's delusional system are much clearer and more simple to understand.

In the concluding chapter I have retold the story of Eusapia Palladino in the light of more modern research, but I cannot pretend to be able to assist the reader to come to any conclusions on this baffling and exasperating case.

Finally, it is again my pleasant duty to thank all those who have helped me in the preparation of this work. I am, above all, indebted to the Council and Librarian of the Swedenborg Society for their gracious permission to make full use of the Society's admirable library and also for their kindness in criticizing both my methods of presenting my material on Swedenborg and my interpretation of the results of my studies. For permission to quote from the printed and unprinted material on Palladino I am indebted to the Council of the Society for Psychical Research.

I have also to record my thanks to Roto-Sadag S.A. of Geneva (in agreement with the Bürgerbibliothek and the Korporationsgüter-Verwaltung of Lucerne) for allowing me to reproduce the plates illustrating the story of Jetzer, which I have taken from their edition of Schilling's *Luzerner Chronik*. To the Institut Général Psychologique in Paris I am indebted for permission to include the photograph of Eusapia Palladino, which originally appeared in M. Courtier's report published by the Institute, and to the authorities at the British Museum for allowing me to include the two plates of Hadrian Beverland.

E. J. DINGWALL

Cambridge.

CONTENTS

I. Emanuel Swedenborg

LIFE IN TWO WORLDS

OF ALL the remarkable men who have played their part in the scientific and religious life of their times, Emanuel Swedenborg was one of the most extraordinary and the most interesting. At first sight the comparative neglect with which he has been treated in modern times might seem surprising, were it not to be remembered that any adequate appreciation of his varied qualities involves considerable knowledge of a number of somewhat abstruse questions, acquaintance with which is rarely to be found in one person. For not only was Swedenborg one of the most learned men of his time, erudite in subjects as far removed as metallurgy is from human anatomy, but also he was a profound student of Biblical interpretation, combining these difficult inquiries with a series of quasi-psychic experiences in which were brought to the surface the results of his religious and philosophical ideas.

These varied manifestations of his genius were so rich and quantitatively so large that their very number has been apt to deter those students who might otherwise have profitably explored so fruitful a field. Hence, careful study of his life and work has been more or less confined to followers of his religious teaching, and thus we owe most of the published analyses to Swedenborgians and others whose interest in the seer was connected rather with his attitude towards this life and the hereafter than with any psychological analysis of the man himself.

It is here that we can, I think, sometimes perceive a certain unwillingness to stress, or even to consider in any detail, the odd features in Swedenborg's life which offer an almost unique field to the student of what is queer, uncanny and even psychopathological. The question whether or not he was mad has often been raised, but the issue has been clouded by the apparent inability of the critics to decide in advance precisely what they imply by such words as insanity, paranoia, or schizophrenia when applied to Swedenborg. Similarly, certain aspects of his writings have been subject to exploration by enthusiastic psychoanalysts, although I cannot pretend to be impressed by the results that they have hitherto achieved. The fact is, I think, that Swedenborg was too great a man to be a fit subject for the kind of psychological dissection which has so far been attempted. What is needed is rather a symposium in which the different aspects of his life and work can be separately treated, and then the threads drawn together and combined in a single pattern, which might then adequately portray the rich complexity of this outstanding character.

My present purpose, therefore, is to sketch but a small portion of that

mosaic, in the hope that others, more competent than myself, may see their way to investigate in a fuller degree Swedenborg's contributions to scientific and religious thought, and to concentrate attention upon those abnormal psychological and psychical aspects of his personality, which have hitherto failed to receive any adequate treatment at the hands of those whose training and experience have qualified them for the task. In doing so I shall suggest very tentatively what seem to me to be important factors in the life of the seer which have either been glossed over or forgotten as unworthy of serious attention. In this way we may, perhaps, be able to pierce a very small portion of the veil which shrouds so many of Swedenborg's experiences in an almost impenetrable blackness. Even if I am altogether off the right track (and on this Swedenborgians will doubtless be agreed) I am convinced that it is only through such treatment that we can hope to understand even a part of that amazing combination of genius and oddity which forms the basis on which the personality of Swedenborg was founded.

An initial and fundamental difficulty, however, immediately confronts us. Swedenborgians, if I understand them rightly, regard the seer as an inspired person, as a man whose revelations were directly derived from a Divine source, and indeed they can hardly do otherwise, as we have the clear claims of Swedenborg to this effect. Thus any treatment that involves the assumption that Swedenborg's inspired writings were primarily due to psychological factors operating within himself is likely to be met with the rejoinder that any such analysis leaves out of account the most important feature in his teachings. It must not be thought, however, that I am unaware and heedless of the importance of this point of view. The same objections can be raised to any similar analysis of the life and experiences of the great mystics and those queer servants of God who, like St. Joseph of Copertino,[1] exhibited strange and uncanny powers which may, or may not, have operated as described.

My own present point of view is somewhat different, and I cannot help reminding Swedenborgians that their teacher did not hesitate to reject the claims of others whose visions and revelations excited the attention of his contemporaries, just as people today are not disposed to accept the claims made by himself. However that may be, I propose to discuss the genesis and development of Swedenborg's abnormal psychological states, which, in their content and odd qualities, have rarely if ever been equalled. My friends the Swedenborgians must, therefore, forgive me if I seem at times to lay too much stress on what appears to them trifling and unimportant and to interpret the sayings and doings of the seer in a way which emphasizes his human as apart from any divinely inspired qualities that he might be thought to have possessed.

Now, before we can discuss these qualities and appraise them in the light of modern psychological investigation, it will not be out of place to give a brief summary of Swedenborg's life and of the position he held in Swedish society of the period.

[1] See my *Some Human Oddities* (University Books, 1962), pp. 9 ff.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born in Stockholm on January 29, 1688. His father, Jesper Svedberg, was the son of God-fearing people who destined their son for the Church, and it is not surprising that Jesper responded to their teaching and was ordained in 1682. He rapidly rose in his profession and at the time that Swedenborg was born he was chaplain to the Court. In 1702 he became Bishop of Skara and was noted for his zeal, reforming tendencies and almost hard, practical common sense. With these qualities he combined, as was common with many Lutherans, a tendency towards what we should now consider credulity in spiritual matters. Angels and devils were very real to Jesper, and his almost childlike faith in them was imparted to young Emanuel, who, from his fourth year onwards, constantly directed his thoughts to religious matters, and who, from the time he was six, engaged in discussions with pastors and others who visited his father's house. Indeed, his precocity was such that his parents declared that angels must be speaking through him, a fact that Swedenborg did not fail to remember.

When young Swedenborg was but eight his mother died, and he passed more and more under the influence of his father. There is reason to believe that his education was excellent. His father was a keen student himself, although as regards his own books the Bishop was at times a disappointed man. His character was such that it was inevitable that he should come into conflict with the authorities. His zeal was sometimes suspect and his drive to get things done was constantly obstructed by persons who preferred to let things drift and had the power to enforce their wishes. There is a story told of how the good Bishop used to sigh over the unsold copies of his books, and say bitterly that when he died the paper would probably be used to wrap up the cakes.

When Swedenborg had finished his formal education he began to think that it was time to leave the parental roof. But it was some time before even the beginning of his projects could be realized. He had little money: his father was not too keen on the way his mind was developing; and it seemed at first that the frustrations suffered by the father were to be endured also by the son. Swedenborg was tired of the provincial atmosphere of the bishopric at Brunsbo, with its strange combination of practical worldliness in some things and mystical beliefs in others, and wanted to go out and see something of the world. His intellectual interests were slowly changing from theological speculation to scientific inquiry. But there was no clash between the two. They were merely put into different compartments in Swedenborg's neatly arranged mind. Faith was one thing: scientific investigation was quite another.

In 1710 Swedenborg went to stay with Christofer Polhem, an engineer of no mean inventive capacity, and it was he who opened the eyes of the young man to the wonders of mechanical construction and the practical use to which mathematics could be put. Swedenborg was enthralled, for he saw a new world opening before his eyes. Polhem himself soon realized that he had a pupil who, with proper encouragement, would make his mark in the domain of material science. Their meeting was one of the turning-points in

Swedenborg's life. When he went abroad in the autumn of the same year his mind was full of ideas, some of which his hands were now sufficiently skilled to put into practice.

It was to London that Swedenborg first went. He wanted to talk to astronomers like John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, and he soon found himself very busy with the mysteries of terrestrial longitude. His energy drove him from one thing to another, although lack of money seems to have curbed certain of his more ambitious schemes. Nevertheless, when he left London he went on to visit various other European countries, and wherever he went he continued his studies, came into contact with the right people and filled his mind with fresh ideas and original inventions. He describes how there entered his mind the idea of a submarine which might do great damage to an enemy's fleet. He thought of making a wheel revolve by means of a fire which would set it in motion, and also he had the idea of an air-gun which would fire many times without reloading. He even thought of an aeroplane (he called it a *machina Daedalea*), but this was too much for Polhem, who thought that the idea had the same difficulty inherent in it as had that of perpetual motion, although he did not altogether cast ridicule upon it.[1]

In 1715 Swedenborg was back in Sweden. He was not encouraged by what he found there. His interest in mechanical inventions made him long for the recognition of these studies by a university, but his efforts to convert Upsala to his views were without success. Again he began to feel that frustration which he had left behind him when he first went abroad. He was without a job, felt dependent on his father, and, if we can judge from a letter to his brother, was not anxious to ask his father himself to continue to keep him.

The Bishop, however, was not inactive on behalf of his energetic son. He was using his influence at Court, and the result was that in 1716 Swedenborg was appointed to a position at the Board of Mines, where his talents and mechanical aptitude might find fuller scope. The job was thankfully accepted, and Swedenborg was soon busy with practical plans and improvements in the mining industry, while, in addition, he was able to work again with Polhem, to whose younger daughter he became engaged. The marriage, however, did not come off. The young woman found that she did not love Swedenborg and asked to be released. Although it was a hard blow, her fiancé immediately agreed, but from that day his visits to the Polhem household grew less.

The refusal of his hand by Miss Polhem cast Swedenborg into a gloom which was not relieved by the way that his ideas and proposals were greeted by his countrymen. His letters of this period are full of a sense of deep frustration and uncertainty regarding the future. He had hopes for the royal support for some of his schemes, but even these fell through, and Swedenborg was left with the choice of remaining at home to eat his heart out or of going abroad

[1] See his letter to Swedenborg, dated 1716 and translated in R. L. Tafel's *Documents Concerning Swedenborg* (London, 1877), I, pp. 271 ff.

with the aim of continuing his studies in places and among men who appreciated his efforts. He chose the latter.

In 1721 the tour commenced. He went to Holland and Germany, visiting mines and feverishly continuing his inquiries. Buoyed up by his enthusiasm and full of mining projects which he hoped would prove acceptable to the Swedish Board, he returned home the next year, only to be met with the same wall of obstructive indifference to which he had been previously subjected. But this time he was more hardened. He pressed on with his work, and several books began to appear from his pen. A massive work in three volumes entitled *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia* (i.e. *Philosophical and Metallurgical Works*) was published in 1734; and the same year saw the appearance of another work on the outlines of a philosophical argument on the infinite and the mechanism of the operation of the soul and body.

Swedenborg was now forty-six, and the appearance of these works enhanced his reputation both at home and abroad. Although his interest in the mechanical arts was as great as ever he was not unmindful of the philosophical implications of his ideas, and his early training began to have an influence on his mature mind. He began to meditate on the origin of matter and of the solar system, putting forward ideas which bear some approximation to the nebular hypotheses of later thinkers. He wanted to understand the mechanism (for such he naturally conceived it to be) which operated the links between soul and body, and for this purpose he plunged into anatomy and cognate subjects.

One result of his studies was the publication in 1740 of the first part of a book on *The Economy of the Animal Kingdom*, in which he dealt in a masterly manner with the brain and its possible relation to the soul. But he was not satisfied. The more he peered into the material world, the more the soul seemed to recede into the background. But he persevered, and was soon busy preparing a new work, *Regnum Animale*, or *The Animal Kingdom*, in which was set forth his latest ideas which were to be arranged in seventeen sections, of which only two were then issued. Moreover, at about the same time he was writing a book on the *Worship and Love of God* (*De Cultu et Amore Dei*), in which he dealt with the origin of the earth and of the firstborn of Adam, and which is strongly tinged with poetic and symbolic phantasy. The mechanical outlook of the past was changing. The search for the soul was activating the ideas that he learnt at his mother's knee, and the richness of his inventive and imaginative genius was fertilizing a soil from which much might spring were the ground to be broken and the seeds allowed to sprout. Something more was wanted than mere acquaintance with the material surface of the world and its parts. Faith was good in itself and so also was knowledge. But how was faith to be combined with knowledge? That was the problem which presented itself to Swedenborg. The solution came with a suddenness that was shattering. The Lord Himself appeared to Swedenborg, and from the Lord's commands there was to be no turning back.

There are various accounts of this extraordinary incident and an analysis of each need not detain us here. But what is clear is that about the year 1745 Swedenborg was in London, and one day, after having dined in the inn where he was staying, he had a vision in which he saw the apparition of a man who told him not to eat so much. The next night the figure again appeared and told Swedenborg that it was the Lord God, that He had chosen him to explain the Bible to the world and that instructions as to how to do this would be directly communicated to him.[1]

This experience made a profound impression on Swedenborg. He knew that another great turning-point in his life had arrived; but it was only later that he realized that a preparation for the event had been proceeding within him for some time. He had had a long series of dreams, the contents of some of which he had written down in his note-book;[2] and he had also had a number of odd experiences, which today we should call hallucinatory in character. But to Swedenborg the interpretation was clear. To him these events preceded the opening of his spiritual sight: they were the precursors of a great series of revelations. Accordingly, therefore, he left his examination of the physical world and devoted himself heart and soul to his spiritual investigations. Book after book poured from his pen. Much of his writing was what we should now recognize as "inspired"; that is to say, it did not proceed consciously and deliberately from his mind, but was derived from the subliminal material which was always in process of development beneath the surface of his own consciousness.

Many of these books are as unreadable today as when they were first written. But beneath the enormous mass of symbolic imagery and hallucinatory material there was a unifying thread which connected the whole of his work and which helps us to understand the central idea which permeated his thought. For, apart from the grotesque visions which he mistook for reality, there lay much which, viewed from a modern standpoint, was eminently sane, practical and idealistic. It could hardly be otherwise. Swedenborg was a revolutionary thinker not only in material things but also in the things of the spirit. The religious materialism of the age disgusted him. He believed that if religion were to be of real value to mankind it must be directly related to life and to the love of one's neighbour as exemplified in action. Hell was not a place where sinners were sent to burn eternally, but a chosen state of mind which men could freely adopt had they the will to do so. After death we remained more or less what we were before; there was no sudden and startling change which transformed the personality. The world beyond the grave was a replica of this one.

In many respects the Heaven and Hell of Swedenborg were very similar to the world beyond the grave as visualized by the modern spiritualists. In his so-called "science of correspondences" Swedenborg classified the relations

[1] For a more detailed account of probably the same incident, see p. 29.
[2] Published in Stockholm in 1859.

between the objects in the material world and their spiritual counterparts. Looked at from the purely superficial point of view such concepts may seem utterly ridiculous. And in Swedenborg's case they are even more grotesque than those put forward by modern spiritualists because they are mixed up with a complex of hallucinatory experiences which he included in the general fabric of his teaching. He was a child of his times, and in his old age his faith remained what it was when he was still young. He had, in a sense, returned to childhood; and, using what he had been taught as a basis, had enriched the early teaching with the results of his manifold experiences in scientific imagination and practical life.

In some things he shocked his own followers. One of his most remarkable books was on love and its different forms.[1] In this volume he discusses the nature of chastity and its place in a modern society. He summarizes the differences between man and woman: he points out the elements which make up the perfect marriage. But he was far too practical to demand the impossible. The results of conscious suppression, which in its turn leads to unconscious repression, were well known to Swedenborg long before they were presented to the world in the language of psychoanalysis. It is needless, he says, to recount the mischief that may be caused by too great a coercion in matters of sex, for it is well known how diseases both of the body and mind may be traced to it. Hence, he discusses the legitimacy in certain circumstances of both concubinage and the keeping of mistresses. In many cases he thinks that such customs are just, lawful and excusable. Yet he never suggests that they are to be aimed at as ideals. They are but makeshifts in an imperfect world.

The book created a sensation. Swedenborgians have done their best to explain it away, for one of Swedenborg's biographers[2] hinted at the possibility that there was some truth in the reports that Swedenborg himself had at one time kept a mistress, and that it was this fact which had coloured his views. However that may be, the fact remains that this book is one of the most remarkable studies of marriage and the sexual problem which the eighteenth century produced. When its authorship is considered this is not surprising, for Swedenborg was not only a man of passionate disposition but also a profound student of everything that he could lay his hands on regarding the physiology and psychology of sex. His great interest in odd sexual questions is revealed in the fact that in his library he had twelve volumes from the pen of that diligent and erudite Havelock Ellis of the eighteenth century, Martin Schurig.

With Schurig as his guide he ransacked the old authors for their accounts of anything that was unusual, odd and bizarre. Yet his knowledge and his interests never led him into wild extravagances or unfounded exaggerations.

[1] *Delitiae Sapientiae de Amore Conjugiali; post quas sequuntur voluptates insaniae de Amore Scortatorio* (Amstelodami, 1768).
[2] W. White, *Emanuel Swedenborg: his life and writings* (London, 1867), II, p. 415.

He kept his ideals firmly before him, but he knew the human heart too well to be led away by the claims of those who preached the virtues of asceticism. He has left many accounts of his own temptations; and although these have led some modern critics wildly astray, they have, I think, been sufficient to indicate clearly enough the greatness of the man and to show how this was combined with those human weaknesses common to us all.

As the years went by Swedenborg grew more and more retiring and apart from the world. His life was simple and his fare frugal. He had a weak digestion, and lived largely on bread, cakes and coffee heavily sugared. When he entered society he was modest and restrained and answered the questions put to him with the most childlike simplicity. His contentment was now complete. No longer did he suffer the frustrations which had formerly tormented him. He died in London, after a slight stroke, on March 29, 1772, and was buried in the Swedish Church, whence his remains were taken to Sweden in 1909 and placed in a sarcophagus in Upsala Cathedral bearing the simple inscription: Emanuel Swedenborg MDCLXXXVIII–MDCCLXXII.

Whatever may be said as to the correct interpretation of the results of Swedenborg's psychological experiences, it cannot be denied that he had them. Even the most convinced follower of the seer is bound to admit that Swedenborg fell into trances, saw visions, experienced queer phenomena when alone, and was inspired to write an immense mass of material during the latter half of his life. This much has to be granted: divergence only becomes apparent when a description of Swedenborg's varied states is attempted, which pays no heed to the claim made by himself and Swedenborgians generally that he was directly and divinely inspired. Swedenborg held that his mental and psychical condition had little in common with that of other visionaries and teachers, and shows in his writings the greatest contempt for such persons, rarely hesitating to throw scorn both on their powers and on their writings. Yet in many cases the revelations of these enthusiasts will bear comparison with those of Swedenborg, especially when we remember that few of them came from the upper ranks of society and had had the advantages of a liberal education and of foreign travel.

Consider, for example, the case of Hans Engelbrecht (1599–1642), who was sometimes called "the German Swedenborg".[1] He was a tailor's son and was apprenticed to a clothier, but was not successful. His health was deplorable, and he suffered from a series of attacks of depression and anxiety. In 1622 he was attacked by a strange malady which made it appear that he was near death. His senses failed, and he became numb all over his body. But whilst his body seemed to die, his soul was active.[2] He was carried up to Heaven and down to Hell, where he suffered its fumes and stench. Hideous voices assailed him: devils lent their aid. But the Holy Ghost put him in a chariot and took him up to Heaven, where he received a commission to tell the world what he had

[1] Cf. *Der Teutsche Swedenborg* (Amsterdam, 1783).
[2] Cf. the very similar case of William Tennent (1705–1777).

seen. The meaning of the Bible had become plain to him. He would go out into the world and preach.

As soon as his illness had passed, Engelbrecht began to follow the directions given in his visions. He was persecuted by the clergy, but this did not worry him unduly. He continued to have visions and many of his writings were suggested to him by the Holy Ghost Himself. Some of his experiences were actually shared by others; after he had come back from a visit to the infernal regions, the people in the same room smelt the stench which had adhered to him. He himself well knew that critics might say that his visions and experiences were mere phantasies, so one day when he was enjoying the most exquisite concert he asked the widow Schumann to come in and listen. She came and she listened, and she said she heard the heavenly strains. Others, unfortunately, heard nothing.

Engelbrecht's experiences were so similar to those of Swedenborg that comparisons could be multiplied. He saw the same brilliant lights and golden spangles, the angels and the visions in full daylight, the birds flying about in their sparkling plumage. When he was experiencing the vision of the Three States he declares that he was fully awake and was seeing what he saw with the eyes of the physical body.

Engelbrecht was not alone among the many visionaries of the seventeenth century who made visits to Heaven and described their experiences. There were many others, and all of them, like Swedenborg, not only had a series of hallucinatory experiences, but also claimed to be subject to actual physical force on the part of ghostly visitants. Swedenborg was pulled about in bed: Engelbrecht was given a black eye for loitering too long between the sheets.[1]

I am not aware of any evidence which suggests that Swedenborg had read any of the works of Engelbrecht.[2] His works do not appear in the catalogue of Swedenborg's library which was made up for auction and which was published in Holmiae in 1907. However that may be, there is no doubt that Swedenborg considered his own case to be possibly unique, and he therefore regarded others with both pity and contempt. His hatred of the Quakers can, I think, be put down either to open or more probably to suppressed jealousy of their spiritual powers and claims to inspiration.

In 1748 he awoke in the middle of the night with his head feeling as if a lot of small snakes were crawling about in his hair. He came to the odd conclusion that some Quaker spirits had indulged in the phantasy of being in his hair, and in his later writings he attributes to them much more serious deeds than playing about in his locks. Their secret worship, he wrote, was wicked, execrable and abominable, and they had a vile communion of wives. Their actions in other respects were such that it is unneccessary to quote Swedenborg's

[1] For further examples and comparisons, see Appendix, pp. 56 ff.
[2] For Engelbrecht, see his *Schriften, oder der erweckte Protestant* (Altona, 1761); *The Divine Visions* (Northampton, 1780); *The German Lazarus* (London, 1707); P. J. Rehtmeyer, *Antiquitates ecclesiasticae inclytae urbis Brunsvigae* (Braunschweig, 1707–20), Th IV, pp 417 ff., and cf. G. Arnold, *Das Leben der Gläubigen* (Halle, 1701), pp. 621–683.

account in this place, but merely refer the interested reader to the *Diarium Spirituale*, where the references will be found under 3751, 3765 ff., 3775, etc.[1]

There must have been some strong emotional drive which compelled Swedenborg to indulge in these extravagant ideas about the Quakers even if we assume, as indeed we must, that his opinions were not consciously held and expressed. We do not know how much he knew about the Quakers and their phenomena. Perhaps he had heard stories about them which he did not record in his own works. He could not have heard about the many instances of Divine guidance which were vouchsafed to Thomas Shillitoe, and I hardly think that it is likely that he ever heard of Joseph Hoag (1760–1846), with his vision of a smoking hell and his prophetic dreams. Humphrey Smith prophesied the Fire of London six years before it occurred; John Adams was travelling in Germany and Holland in 1712 when he had a vision of Christ in glory and an interview with the Devil in a dream; Thomas Say (1709–1796) had an experience almost identical with that of Hans Engelbrecht, and the same sort of thing appears to have happened to the Heckmondwicke Quaker, Forth, in the first half of the eighteenth century.

I do not believe that Swedenborg's own point of view regarding his experiences and that held by his modern followers can be maintained. Indeed, I think that it is so weak as scarcely to deserve serious rebuttal. For it implies that the claim of Divine direction made by Swedenborg and his disciples necessitates the belief that the psychological states through which that direction operated differed radically from similar states recorded by other visionaries, and therefore can be set apart and not made subject to critical appraisal.

It is not difficult to see why this opinion is held by Swedenborgians and supported with so much tenacity. For, were it to be abandoned, then part of the structure on which the New Church is reared might be in danger of collapse. It might, for example, be shown that Swedenborg's psychological states show only a few points of important difference from similar states which are well known and that these differences in no way suggest the truth of the claim of Divine origin. Hence, we find that the followers of Swedenborg point to the writings as additional proof, although I have never yet been able to understand what peculiar quality these possess which compels us to suppose that they are divinely inspired. On the contrary, the more the instructed student examines these writings, the more, I think, will he come to the conclusion that they are the product of Swedenborg himself, and moreover just the material that we should expect once their genesis and development is understood.

[1] Criticism of the Quakers was common and the attacks made on them were often concentrated upon their alleged hypocrisy. A verse, published in *The Quakers' Art of Courtship* (London, 1710), was typical of the kind of accusations hurled at them. It reads:

> "In Publick, see, the Zealot seems a Saint,
> Green-apron'd Sisters whine, and Brothers pant;
> But when retir'd, the Case is out of doors,
> He courts in Cant, and Bully-like he ——s."

The fact remains that Swedenborg's trances and the mechanism of his visions can properly be made the study of the psychologist, and more particularly of the expert in psychical research, and it is from this point of view that I propose to examine them.

Before any adequate analysis can be given of Swedenborg's psychological experiences and the nature of his visions, it will be as well to take a rapid survey of similar states as seen both among the sane and insane, as by so doing we shall be in a better position to appraise the material at our disposal, and thus be able to see if Swedenborg's case can be included in a general framework the nature of which is now tolerably well known.

Two questions are generally raised when discussing the problem of Swedenborg's psychological states. The first asks if Swedenborg suffered from hallucinations; and the second demands an answer as to whether or not the seer was "mad". Now so much ink has been wasted over these two problems that further discussion of them might seem to be fruitless were it not for the fact that the disputants have, as a general rule, failed to define their terms, and thus have been often arguing at cross purposes.

To many Swedenborgians the word "hallucination" usually suggests a morbid condition common in psychotic subjects and one having no connection with the sane, and, believing that Swedenborg was far from mad, they therefore think that the word cannot be properly applied to any of his strange experiences. Similarly, a number of psychiatrists have shown themselves so ill acquainted with hallucinatory phenomena in the sane that their opinions on the nature of Swedenborg's visions have been almost as worthless as their views on his sanity or insanity. As the two subjects are closely interlinked we can consider them together, and thus gain a clearer idea of the whole picture in its proper setting.

Let us begin, therefore, by a consideration of *hallucinations*. As with so many semi-technical terms, the word *hallucination* is currently used in at least two senses, (*a*) a popular sense, in which is understood a condition of mind in which the subject is deceived or mistaken or suspected of harbouring unfounded ideas; and (*b*) a more technical sense, commonly used in psychopathology, where what is meant by a sensory hallucination is a perception which, only upon careful reflection and examination, is found to lack that objective basis which it suggests. Thus if I see (or, if you prefer it, *think* that I see) a cat asleep by the fire, whereas, as a matter of fact, there is no real, live cat there, then I may be said to have had a *visual hallucination*. This kind of experience is, therefore, a sort of vivid mental impression which occurs without the external stimulus which would normally accompany such an experience. In this way it differs from what is called an *illusion*. It is true that an illusion may act as a stimulus to a hallucination, but by itself it consists essentially of an erroneous *interpretation* of some external object which is then mistaken for something other than it actually is. Thus if there is a feather boa lying on the hearthrug, and I think that I see a cat lying there, then I am suffering from an illusion, whereas

if I see a cat on the hearthrug when there is nothing there, then I have experienced a hallucination.[1]

One difficulty in dealing briefly with hallucinations is the number of phenomena which can be properly included under that term. Not only are there visual hallucinations but also auditory (hearing), haptic or tactile (touch), olfactory (smell) and gustatory (taste). There are hallucinations due to mental disturbances aroused by toxins, either introduced from without or generated within, causing diseased conditions. In the first class are to be included such vivid hallucinations as those produced by mescal or *cannabis indica* (Indian hemp), the phantasmagoric imagery of which was so vividly described by Théophile Gautier;[2] whilst in the second are those originating under the influence of the various toxemias, with which may be included other morbid physical conditions. There is nothing odd about this. How often after experiencing a particularly vivid and terrifying dream are we asked by friends to whom the story has been told whether we enjoyed the lobster, radishes and bananas which, it is assumed, were eaten the evening before. Few people seem to realize that dreams *are* hallucinations, although it is clear that if we are to include them in this category we ought perhaps to extend our definition. For in the dream state, although we experience a series of visual images and diverse emotions, we are not usually aware of their transient and "unreal" character until we awake, and then we cannot make the same kind of examination as can be conducted when experiencing a hallucination in the waking condition.

There are some hallucinations, however, that occur in the intermediate stage between waking and sleeping, and thus can be observed in a way impossible in dreams.[3] Two examples of my own will make the matter clear. Having put down my book, I had turned off the light and was composing myself to sleep when a luminous disc appeared floating before my eyes. Gradually a face began to form, a Chinese face, which began to move slowly towards me as if illuminated by a spotlight accurately focused upon the disc. Every feature was distinct: had I had the mind to do so I could have counted each individual eyelash. As it approached nearer and nearer, my attention became more alert, and when the face was, seemingly, but a foot from my own it vanished. This is what we mean by a visual *hypnagogic hallucination*. Or take another example occurring under rather better conditions. I was about to turn off my light, having become very sleepy. Suddenly in the centre of my room

[1] It seems probable that certain illusions are generated by conscious wishes, and that the error of mistaking one object for another is due to the desire to see some specific object. Thus a starving man might mistake a stone for a sandwich, or a rock for a case containing provisions. For some striking examples of this form of mistaken perception in a difficult situation see E Mikkelsen's *Lost in the Arctic* (London, 1913), pp. 303 ff.

[2] In his "Le Club des hachichiens" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, (1846), XIII, 520–35.)

[3] These are the so-called hypnagogic and hypnopompic hallucinations. See, *inter alia*, F. E. Leaning, "An introductory study of hypnagogic phenomena" (*Proc.* of the Soc. for Psychical Research, May, 1925, XXXV, pp. 289–411); E. B. Leroy, *Les Visions du demi-sommeil* (Paris, 1926), who gives a list of further references; and for an earlier account see H. B. Alexander in the *Proc.* of the Amer. Soc. for Psychical Research, 1909, III, pp. 623 ff. For a comparison between certain aspects of hypnagogic hallucinations and schizophrenia, see Jenö Kollarits in the *Archiv für Psychiatrie u. Nervenkrankheiten* (1934), CI, pp. 19–79.

appeared a bright blue light in the shape of a star. As my attention was aroused I returned to full wakefulness and the light disappeared with a crackling noise like an electric spark. I had experienced a *visual and auditory hypnagogic hallucination*.[1]

Now whether we class dreams as hallucinations or not, it is clear that the hypnagogic and hypnopompic phenomena are certainly hallucinations, and, therefore, as these are widely known and experienced, it is also clear that some forms of hallucinations are of common occurrence among the sane.[2]

Apart from dreams which, for the moment, we shall put on one side, we have so far been discussing those forms of sensory hallucinations in which the percipient's attention is directed to something apparently objective and external, although, as a matter of fact, the actual basis which is suggested is lacking. Thus the character of the experience of seeing a cat by the fire when there is actually no cat is quite different from that of *imagining* a cat to be there, or even of seeing a cat, as it is said, "in the mind's eye". We can therefore distinguish one great class of hallucinations by the fact that the objects that are perceived and the sounds heard give the same impression to the subject *as if* they were external to himself, although they have no objective reality whatever.

The sensation *as if* the objects of visual or other sensory hallucinations were external to the percipient is not, however, a constant feature of all hallucinations. There is a whole class of hallucinatory phenomena in which the percipient is perfectly aware that his experiences are not, even seemingly, derived from the senses but are perceived internally, and in many cases do not suggest any external and corresponding objective reality.[3] These have sometimes been called "pseudo-hallucinations" as opposed to "hallucinations proper", such as those which we have already considered above.

An illustration will, perhaps, make the matter clear. It has long been recognized that some people (amongst whom are many who can be properly classed as insane) experience auditory hallucinations which, although perhaps at first thought by the subject to originate outside himself, are nevertheless quite distinct from the auditory phenomena of the hallucination proper, having as they do a kind of soundless quality, or seeming as if they impinged upon the ear from afar off. Sometimes the words are the verbal expressions of the subject's own thoughts: sometimes they are not and run counter to his own ideas and wishes. But whatever form they may take they are always interior and subjective; and in the case of these pseudo-hallucinations it is important to note how an apparent cleavage in the personality has set in, and how, as a

[1] Cf. Johann Tennhart's almost identical experience (*Lebenslauff*, p. 90).

[2] To those who wish to see how modern psychiatrists deal with this question, I would refer them, without comment, to the papers in the *Journal of Mental Science* (1917), LXIII, pp. 328–46, 437–42, and *ib.* (1928), LXXIV, pp. 49–58. It may be of interest to remind readers that Mr. Edmund Gurney's classical account of hallucinations of the sane appeared *thirty-one years before* the first of these articles was published!

[3] I cannot agree with Whitehead's proposition that as the "spiritual world" has objective reality, then the visionary, when perceiving it, does not suffer from hallucinations. (See J. Whitehead, *Study of Swedenborg's physical states and experiences* [Repr. from *The New Church Review*, July, 1909], Boston, 1909.)

general rule, the patient cannot control them or bring them under his own domination as he can when experiencing "hallucinations proper".

In many of these so-called psychic- or pseudo-hallucinations it is clear that the subject cannot fail to regard them in quite a different light from that to which he is accustomed in the case of the objective hallucinations. Thus, for example, in cases of crystal-gazing, faces in the fire or on the window blind, it is obvious that the scenes and objects therein portrayed are in no sense present "out there", but are, as it were, projected by the mind, and then perceived as in a moving-picture display. Now and then persons are found, especially among artists, who are able to paint their sitters' portraits whilst these persons are absent, since the artists are able to project their images and paint from them as well as from the originals.[1] Again, cases are on record when the memory produces a kind of after-image of objects seen and pondered over, like the well-known case of the Scottish clergyman who, after spending many hours studying tombs and inscriptions, was horrified to discover on his way home that the very surface of the road seemed covered with epitaphs and with the names of the deceased.

Such phenomena as these, which are clearly hallucinatory in character, illustrate the wide differences between them and what we have called the hallucinations proper. They cannot fail to remind us of the classification that Santa Teresa made when she was dealing with her own visions. She knew the corporeal or sensorial visions, by which it is probable that she meant those perceived by the bodily organs, such as the eye or the ear. Then she spoke of imaginative visions perceived by the soul, by which it seems that she may have meant hallucinations perceived when the physical eyes and ears are inactive. She spoke also of the visions and locutions which are experienced without images of any kind; these are the so-called "intellectual visions" in which, as A. Farges puts it, all objects are supersensible and spiritual and appear abstracted from all sensible form.[2]

From what we know of the lives of the Christian mystics it would appear quite clear that a great number of their experiences can be properly described as hallucinatory, without in any way implying a special morbidity or suggesting interpretations which would be hotly contested by those believing in the divine or diabolic origin of these manifestations. Indeed, it would seem to me that by assuming even the partial truth of Roman Catholic, Protestant, Moslem and Indian claims (the rival merits of which I have no intention of discussing), it is impossible to regard the mechanism of many of their mystical experiences as anything but substantially similar to that operating in the case of other experiences where the divine or diabolic element can be safely disregarded.

[1] I am referring here to such cases as those of Blake, Martin, etc.

[2] See A. Farges, *Mystical Phenomena* (London, 1926), p. 338. Mgr. Farges, however, seems to me in other cognate matters to be insufficiently acquainted with the facts to be regarded as an altogether trustworthy guide. Thus his comparison of the cat's eyes at night with certain examples of biological light as seen in some fishes will not bear examination, any more than will the interpretation he puts upon the alleged extraordinary phenomena associated with the eyes of the Tilly clairvoyants.

I am, of course, aware that claims have been made by some people, followers of the Bull and Wickland schools of thought, to the effect that many cases of insanity are really due to obsession by discarnate entities—an opinion which, to say the least, is of respectable antiquity. But even here I think that it would be assumed that the means employed by these evilly disposed spirits are those which, in other cases, are simply those psychological mechanisms which are operative to some extent in all of us, although they only occasionally set in motion a train of morbid and pathological activities.

If this much be granted, then we can, I think, proceed to examine the psychological experiences of Swedenborg without committing ourselves to a long and tedious discussion as to their precise interpretation by Swedenborgians as compared with the rival and opposing views of other groups the opinions of which are founded upon very different premises. All that I can hope to do is to suggest very tentatively that the experiences of the Swedish seer can be regarded from the purely psychological point of view, and to leave their interpretation to those whose inclinations lead them towards such speculations. For the benefit, therefore, of those who are not committed to any fixed beliefs on the subject, I shall advance a theory regarding the genesis and development of Swedenborg's experiences, which seems to me to be reasonable, although I cannot hope that it will be greeted with anything but contempt and pity by Swedenborgians, Roman Catholics and others who believe that they possess a very special knowledge of the origin and meaning of the mystical experience and allied states.

Firstly, however, let me recapitulate briefly what has already been said on the subject of organic and functional hallucinations. We have seen that they can be conveniently divided into two main groups, which are broadly distinguished by the objective (external) or subjective (internal) nature of the visions. It is to this latter class that the bulk of the experiences of religious mystics and visionaries belongs, although examples of the former type are also described in the pages of their biographers and in the accounts written by themselves. Moreover, this latter kind of subjective hallucination can also be subdivided into two branches. One consists of hallucinatory experiences which can, in a sense, be controlled by the subject, as where the interior voices reflect his own thoughts, whilst in the other the voices or visions cannot be so controlled. These are, as we have seen, often of a nature contrary to the subject's own inclinations and wishes, and thus suggest a certain duality in the make-up of the personality, which in turn indicates a cleavage or splitting proceeding within it.

Now, in the course of our discussion it was seen that hallucinations were experienced by persons who, judged by all sound standards, cannot be regarded as otherwise than perfectly sane, although at the same time it was recognized that they can also be experienced by persons who must be considered as insane. It is, of course, extremely difficult to say in some cases when and at what point sanity passes into insanity. But as a general rule, I think that a rough and ready

guide may be obtained if we concentrate not so much upon the hallucinations themselves as the behaviour of the person who is subject to them. It must be remembered that the words "insanity" and "mental disorder"[1] are not interchangeable terms.

A person whose own ideas are presented to him as interior voices, but who, nevertheless, knows that the voices are of a hallucinatory character, and therefore does not act upon them when contrary to his own moral feelings and ideas, may be said to suffer from a form of mental disorder, but is not necessarily insane. He can control his voices as others control their ideas, and stands in quite a different class from those whose hallucinations cannot be controlled and are often acted upon to the detriment both of the sufferer and of the society to which he belongs. It is when hallucinations of this type lead to dangerous, harmful and anti-social acts that those subject to them have to be controlled for their own good as well as for that of others and may be pronounced as insane and have to suffer institutional supervision.

From this point of view it is, therefore, nonsense to class many Roman Catholic and Protestant mystics as insane persons, although it might be plausibly argued that some of them suffered from forms of mental disorder. In the case of Swedenborg it is, I think, clear that, if tests of sanity based upon behaviour are to be admitted, then the seer was certainly sane, and in spite of one or two incidents in his life which point to perhaps abnormal excitement, the extreme opinions of psychiatrists like Arnold, Maudsley and others may be set aside.[2]

Having now taken a rapid glance at hallucinations in general it remains for us to examine rather more closely the actual experiences of Swedenborg, and see how they can be fitted into the framework outlined above. One difficulty that has been experienced in the past seems to have been the fact that students have tried to narrow the field of Swedenborg's hallucinatory experiences instead of extending it to embrace nearly all the main classes

[1] This confusion is not unusual in the works of Swedenborgians when discussing Swedenborg's sanity. Thus E. A. Sutton, in dealing with the question, declares that mental disorder is now ruled out of court (*The Genius of Swedenborg* (London, 1935), p. 26), and J. Goddard seems inclined to the view that hallucinations are the exclusive prerogative of the insane. (*See* his "Swedenborg's supposed hallucinations" in *The New Jerusalem Magazine*, Sept. 1887.)

[2] See T. Arnold, *Observations on the nature of insanity* (London, 1806), I, p. 228, where he speaks of Swedenborg's fanatical insanity and maniacal symptoms; H. Maudsley, "Emanuel Swedenborg" (*Jour. Ment. Sci.*, July 1869, XV, pp. 169–96, 417–36; and his *The Pathology of Mind* (London, 1879), p. 417, where he speaks of acute mania and monomania; H. J. Norman, "Emanuel Swedenborg: psychologist" (*Jour. Ment. Sci.*, July 1912, LVIII, pp. 448–64; and his "Emanuel Swedenborg: a study in morbid psychology" (*Ib.*, April 1913, LIX, pp. 286–305); E. Hitschmann, "Swedenborg's Paranoia" (*Zentralbl. f. Psychoanalyse*, 1912–1913, III, pp. 23–36); and E. Kinberg's diagnosis of "paranoia tardiva expansiva religiosa" as quoted by E. Kleen in his "Om Swedenborgs psykos" (*Förhandl. vid Svenska Läkaresallskapets* (1914), H. 9, p. 270). Even one of Swedenborg's biographers, William White, appears to have strange views of what constitutes insanity. Writing of Swedenborg's notes on his dreams, he says that they would be held "as sufficient warrant for the consignment of any author to a lunatic asylum" (*Emanuel Swedenborg: his life and writings* (London, 1867), I. p. 245). For details of the charge of insanity raised against Swedenborg during his life, see the list of references in R. L. Tafel's *Documents concerning Swedenborg* (London, 1877), II, p. 1356.

of hallucinations. The very multiplicity of these visions has confused many, especially those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the hallucinations of the sane. Yet if we take the trouble to follow the development of Swedenborg's spiritual journey we shall, I think, soon begin to see signs of an orderly progress, in which the simpler forms of hallucination led on to a more and more complex series and in which there also appeared other phenomena which belong, perhaps, rather to the domain of parapsychology than of psychopathology as generally understood.

As we have seen above, Swedenborg's initiation into what he believed to be the spiritual world appears to have been preceded by a series of experiences which he later interpreted as a preparation for what was in store for him. Not only did he have a series of dreams, of which part of his record still exists, but he also, like Engelbrecht, saw fiery lights (*lumina ignea*), and what he calls a kind of flaming cloud of purple, red and white, which was adhering to a hand; and sometimes letters seemed to be written before his eyes. Again, the air seemed occasionally to be filled with golden spangles, a description which cannot fail to remind us of the flames and sparkling glitter of which Hans Engelbrecht spoke when describing his visions.[1]

There can be little doubt that these brilliant hallucinations were the cause of much interest to Swedenborg, and the vivid series of dreams that he also experienced were an additional source of wonder and perturbation. The publication of the notes on his dreams created a sensation.[2] The book was denounced as a "wicked forgery", and certain alienists made haste to use it as a further indication of Swedenborg's insanity. In recent years psychoanalysts have attempted to deal with the book, although, I think, not very successfully, Lagerborg finding therein portrayed the "peak of his climacteric anxiety neurosis", and Winterstein finding even more curious elements although, apparently, missing some important passages in Swedenborg's works which might have lent considerable colour to his case.[3]

From the point of view of the calm and unemotional observer it is not altogether easy to understand why the Dream Book was, to use W. W. Ireland's phrase, "such an embarrassing document"[4] to Swedenborgians and other defenders of the seer. It would appear that the sexual elements shocked the more prudish among Swedenborg's followers, who failed to realize that Swedenborg's honesty might have been seriously impugned had not the

[1] For Swedenborg's account, see the *Diarium Spirituale*, 2951; 3246; *Adversaria*, 182–84, in which he actually distinguishes dreams from visions which appear in the waking state before and after sleep (i.e. hypnagogic and hypnopompic hallucinations). For Engelbrecht, see *The Divine Visions* (Northampton, 1790), I, p. 60.

[2] *Swedenborgs Drömmar* (Stockholm 1859).

[3] See R. Lagerborg, *Fallet Swedenborg* (Stockholm, 1924), and the same author's "Zur Psychoanalyse des Geistersehers Swedenborg" (*Verh. d. I. Intern. Kongress f. Sexualforschung*, 1926, III, pp. 110–23; A. von Winterstein, "Swedenborgs religiöse Krise und sein Traumtagebuch" (*Imago*, 1936, XXII, pp. 292–338). For those psychoanalysts who specialize on these matters I would refer them to E. Kleen, *op. cit.*, p. 269, and cf. *Diarium Spirituale*, 4281; 4461; 4470; 5767m.; 4766m.; and the very curious entries under 4281 and 4590m.; *Arcana Coelestia*, 5059, 5394, 5395.

[4] *Through the Ivory Gate* (Edinburgh 1889), p. 41.

signs of his chief passion, namely his inclination for women, been left recorded in his dream notes.[1]

Apart from these passages, however, the dreams are by no means the collection of fantastic and extravagant visions that many of the comments on them might lead us to suppose. It is true that the seer himself in his *Adversaria* stated his belief that dreams were induced in man by spirits, but this opinion was in line with Swedenborg's general philosophical and theological outlook and need not detain us here. What is important at the moment to remember is that we have already seen that in the early stages of Swedenborg's spiritual experiences he was having at least three of the different kinds of hallucination that we discussed above, namely dreams, and the externalized hallucinations, which are seen just before sleep and just after waking.

There is something more, however, in Swedenborg's record of his dreams which is of interest as a pointer towards the kind of development which might be expected in the future. He writes several times of what he calls his "double thoughts".[2] Lying in a sort of trance, not fully awake and not asleep, he says that he felt as if his thoughts were in some strange way separated, fighting one another or in some cases torn asunder. Here we can see, I think, the early signs of that duality or, as we should say today, of that dissociation, which Swedenborg so graphically describes when he speaks of "a certain separation" in the intellectual part of his mind but not in the will part.[3]

In order to understand the development of Swedenborg's hallucinatory experiences it is necessary to realize that his way of regarding such phenomena was very different from that of an educated person today. His religious faith was firmly established when he was still a child and, as we have seen, the family among which he grew up was one in which the belief in God and in angels and spirits was a normal part of the daily life. Such teaching and experience could hardly fail to have their effect in later years. Thus on the appearance of the dreams and the other hallucinations, Swedenborg was not inclined to subject them to any rigorous criticism, especially of a kind which would divert his mind from those problems of the soul towards which so much

[1] Although Lamm finds himself "incompetent to decide" on the extraordinary and wholly unwarranted suppositions put forward by Lehmann, there is little doubt that the latter must have completely misunderstood Swedenborg's account of his temptations and to what it was that he was referring. See M. Lamm, *Swedenborg* (Stockholm, 1915), p. 152, and cf. A. Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei* (Stuttgart, 1898), p. 217.

[2] Cf. 118; 121; 163; 168.

[3] In a discussion of Swedenborg's alleged schizophrenia H. W. Gruhle is inclined to the opinion that the evidence is not sufficient to sustain it, and in this I am disposed to agree with him. (See his "Swedenborgs Traüme: ein Beitrag zur Phänomenologie seiner Mystik", *Ztschr. f. Psychol. Forschung* (1924), V, H. 3/4, pp. 273–320; and "Die Persönlichkeit Swedenborgs (1688–1772)" (*Vers. Südwestdeutsch. Neurol. u. Irrenärzte zu Baden-Baden*, Mai, 1924.) On the other hand it has to be admitted that much depends upon the precise meaning that is to be attached to the word "schizophrenia". According to some definitions it can, I think, be said that Swedenborg was undoubtedly schizophrenic, although he did not exhibit perhaps all the signs that we usually associate with that disorder. In its common form, according to some psychiatrists, schizophrenia consists of a slow but steady deterioration of the personality and a peculiar disorganization of its inward coherence. The affective life is mainly involved, and there is an increasing withdrawal of interest in the outside world with accompanying disorder of both thought and conduct.

of his attention was directed. What was happening within him was, as a matter of fact, vividly described by himself.

One day in 1744, after a curious dream, he was partially awake when he heard one or two dull sounds (i.e. auditory hypnopompic hallucinations), and then, when fully awake, he began to ask himself whether what he was experiencing was not perhaps mere phantasy. But the thought was instantly rejected, for it implied that his faith was wavering. He therefore prayed that his faith might be strengthened, and his wish was immediately granted.[1] It is here that we can see how Swedenborg laid the foundation for that interpretation of his manifold experiences on which he was later to erect a complete system of religious thought. His introspection and self-analysis were coloured throughout by the basic premises which he refused to examine. His belief in God, as one of his biographers points out, was like that of a child to the end of his days. His acceptance of the truths of the Christian religion was in a word "infantine".[2] Indeed, he could not examine those tenets, for they constituted the solid rock on which his whole conception of religion had been built. The way was wide open for fresh experiences, visions and other hallucinations on the grand scale. They were not long in coming.

About the year 1745[3] the seer had an extraordinary experience. According to one of his accounts he was in London and, having had a good dinner at the inn where he was staying, during which his mind was full of his experiences, he noticed forming before his eyes a kind of mist, which slowly became thicker, and then he saw the floor covered with crawling reptiles such as snakes and frogs. He declares that he was perfectly conscious and that his thoughts were clear. The darkness increased and then disappeared, followed by the appearance of a man sitting in the corner of the room, who said, "Don't eat so much." The darkness closed in again, then disappeared and everything again became normal. The next night the same figure again appeared, and declared that it was the Lord God Himself, and that He had chosen Swedenborg to explain to the world the spiritual sense of the Scriptures, and that He Himself would instruct him how to write.[4] The crisis had come. The seer had obtained his commission. From that day his worldly studies began to be forgotten and the spiritual world was opened to him.

The interpretation of this event must, of course, vary with the basic beliefs of the analyst. From the psychological point of view it was but the almost natural development, not only of the hallucinatory system which Swedenborg was encouraging, but also of those unconscious desires and strivings which had for so long been germinating within him. The voice telling him not to

[1] See *Drömmar*, April 10/11.

[2] J. J. G. Wilkinson, *Emanuel Swedenborg: a biography* (London, 1849), p. 249.

[3] For a full discussion of the various conflicting dates, see R. L. Tafel, *op. cit.*, II, 1118 ff.

[4] This was the account which was said to have been given by Swedenborg to Carl Robsahm and which the latter included in his memoirs in 1782. See R. L. Tafel, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 35–36. What appear to be other accounts are to be found in Swedenborg's *Adversaria*, 1847, and in his *Diarium Spirituale*, 397.

eat so much was in itself an indication of that feeling of guilt[1] which had for so many years oppressed the seer and which was connected with the sexual temptations to which he was subjected both in the dream and waking life.

In the dream of April 5/6 we can see the phallic content clearly emerging, and also his own sense of unworthiness and separation from God, a psychological state which can well be compared with the periods of "aridity" in the lives of the Saints. The incident, however, might be indicative of other factors, which may or may not be linked with what we should call today mediumistic faculties. In the account of the event which Swedenborg wrote in his *Adversaria* the appearances strongly suggest a hypnagogic hallucination, in which both visual and auditory elements entered. The mass of crawling reptiles seemed to become merged into a single unit, and then burst asunder with a cracking noise. But in the account in the *Spiritual Diary* the mist is described as exuding from the pores of his body (*e poris corporis*), and then, falling upon the floor, beginning to collect and form little worms which finally disappeared in a flash.[2] This version cannot fail to remind us of the alleged materialization phenomena of modern physical mediums like Eva Carrière, and it is from this point of view that Geymüller has discussed it.[3] Moreover, there is some slight evidence that Swedenborg experienced the cold breeze so commonly reported with physical mediums.

In the *Diarium Spirituale* (479) he says that when approached by spirits he felt a cold wind, which actually moved the flame of a candle and blew about his papers. However that may be, it is as well to remember, as has been said above, that the psychological experiences of the seer may have been further complicated by the admixture of parapsychological phenomena, both in the sphere of matter (i.e. physical phenomena) and of mind (i.e. clairvoyance, prevision, etc.).

Having received his commission from God, Swedenborg rapidly developed his visionary and receptive faculties. His trances lasted for days at a time and the memory of his visions was retained in the waking state. The ecstasies that he experienced were indescribable. He was dissolved in pure bliss and, like the Christian Saints, he realized that these heavenly sensations were due to the action of the Supreme Love. Automatisms appeared, as indeed might have been expected, although these do not seem to have been so pronounced as is often the case.

It does not seem that many of Swedenborg's works were in *automatic* writing as we understand the term today. But there is no doubt that many were *inspirational* in the modern sense. The spirits *spoke through him*, he says, and the teachings he poured forth had their origin, as Acton puts it, in some

[1] Cf. E. A. G. Kleen, *Swedenborg : en levnadsskildring* (Stockholm, 1917–1920), pp. 404, 540.

[2] This experience can well be compared with the "little worms" (*Vermiculi*) which appeared lying on a platter to Cardano and which he describes in his *De propria vita liber* (Parisiis, 1643), cap. XLVII, p. 265. Staudenmaier had almost a precisely similar experience as Swedenborg (*Die Magie als experimentelle Naturwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 30).

[3] See H. de Geymüller, *Swedenborg et les phénomènes psychiques* (Paris, 1934), p. 296.

internal dictate which compelled expression. Swedenborg implied that he was fully conscious of what he was writing, telling Samuel Sandels: "I am but the secretary. I write what is dictated to my spirit." At times, however, there are indications that the seer's hand was controlled, just as in modern instances of automatic writing.[1]

Meanwhile his interior hallucinations became so rich and varied that at times they might have been mistaken for those in which the visionary scenes and figures seemed objective. He describes some of these variations in language which can scarcely fail to remind us of what has already been said when classifying hallucinations. Visions, he writes, can be seen with the eyes open and also when the man is awake, although the internal senses are in a way removed from the external. Furthermore, they can be seen in the stage "next to wakefulness, when the man himself believes no other than that he is awake", and in this state the angels are seen as clearly as in the daytime. Then there are the visions and apparitions which are seen with the eyes closed, and finally there are the dreams.[2]

From what has now been said it is clear that, rightly or wrongly, it is possible to interpret the framework of Swedenborg's spiritual experiences in terms which do but little violence to the general pattern of the hallucinatory syndrome as we regard it today. It remains but to cast a hasty glance at the content of the revelations, and then to pass on to an attempt to account for the development of the visions and for the profound change in Swedenborg's life which resulted from their emergence.

It must be remembered that Swedenborg's search for the soul began some years before the beginning of the dreams which he described in his note-book. It was in 1740 that the first part of his *Oeconomia Regni Animali* (*Economy of the Animal Kingdom*) was published, a work in which the second part, published in 1741, deals with the cerebral cortex and the human soul, for he considered that the centre of all psychic activity was in the brain, and therefore he paid special attention to it. Moreover, a foretaste of what was to come was provided in his curious book *De Cultu et Amore Dei* (*On the Worship and Love of God*), which, although not published until 1745, must have been composed just before what he described as the opening of his spiritual vision. The work that immediately followed these events was the *Historia Creationis a Mose tradita* (*The History of Creation as related by Moses*), and here we find the commencement of the series of works dealing with Holy Scripture and the world of angels and spirits, the writing of which was to occupy him for the greater part of the remaining years of his life.

It is not surprising that on reading some of these works the first reaction is to suppose that the author was clearly insane in the popular sense of that

[1] See A. Acton, *An Introduction to the Word Explained* (Bryn Athyn, 1927), p. 142; W. White, *op. cit.*, II, p. 510; R. L. Tafel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 62; and cf. F. W. Very, who admits that some people might prefer to say that Swedenborg possessed a "mediumistic constitution" (*An epitome of Swedenborg's science* (Boston, 1927), I, p. 486).

[2] Cf. Acton, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

word. One of his contemporary critics, J. A. Ernesti, the theologian, declared that the *Arcana Coelestia* was a new kind of romance which could only be compared with the subterranean travels narrated by Klim.[1] John Wesley thought that he was one of the "most ingenious, lively and entertaining madmen" that ever set pen to paper, and that his waking dreams were so wild and so remote from Scripture and common sense that we might as easily swallow the stories of Tom Thumb or Jack the Giant-Killer.[2] On the other hand, Wesley had reason to dislike Swedenborg's ideas, for the latter was far ahead of the crude Methodist teaching regarding Heaven and Hell. To the Swede hell was not a place to which people were consigned by an angry God, there to burn eternally. It was the evil within a man which was his own hell: it was his own deliberate choice. Hence, there was something to be said for Wesley's petulant remark when he said that the Swedish seer "leaves nothing terrible about hell". The prospect of the wicked not being properly punished for ever was not one which Wesley could face with equanimity, and therefore he was disgusted at not finding it in "this madman's dream".[3]

There is no doubt, however, that many of Swedenborg's revelations, whatever symbolic interpretation may be put upon them, must be regarded as the product of a peculiarly rich, fertile and sometimes exceedingly odd imagination. His picture of the planets and their inhabitants are clear examples of hallucinations which have a striking resemblance to surrealist dreams, and which, as Balzac says in *Seraphita*,[4] were often disfigured by grotesque features. For example, in speaking of the planet Jupiter, he says that the inhabitants do not walk as we do, or even creep on all fours, but as they move forwards they assist themselves by means of their hands, and then half elevate themselves on their feet, at every third step turning the face sideways and backwards and bending the body.[5]

Again, his complete belief in the world of spirits and their interference in mundane affairs led him to make remarks on the origin of certain aches and pains which it is curious did not strike him as an anatomist to be somewhat improbable. A toothache from which he once suffered he attributed to some hypocritical spirits, among them being St. Paul, an apostle for whom Swedenborg had the greatest aversion.

As the years went by, Swedenborg became more and more immersed in his visions and inspirational writings. He was becoming almost like a man who divided his time between journeys in two worlds. Not at any time very sociable, and with few friends, he worked incessantly, and those who knew him

[1] Evidently referring to *N. Klimii iter subterraneum* (Hafniae & Lipsiae, 1741), a work commonly attributed to Ludvig Holberg. (See *Neue theologische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1760–1769), I, pp. 515–27.) It was this purely imaginary book of travels that the learned J. L. Jaeger read, and parts of which he apparently took quite seriously! (See his *Philos.-physik. Zeitvertreib in einigen Materien f. Naturforscher* (Nürnberg, 1783)).

[2] *The Journal* (London, 1910–1917), II, p. 354.

[3] *Op. cit.*, VI, p. 231.

[4] See L. Surville, *Balzac: sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1858); and cf. P. Bernheim in *Romanische Studien* (1914), H. XVI, pp. 40 ff.

[5] Cf. Victorien Sardou's very different account in *Revue Spirite* (1858), I, pp. 223–32.

declared that he was perfectly content and that his life was a model of frugality, sobriety and quiet industry. His consumption of coffee was considerable, which may have increased his cerebral activity. Apart from this, he had few luxuries with the exception of snuff.

His visions and hallucinations became a normal part of his existence, and his faith in them never seems to have wavered except on a few isolated occasions. He refused to accept the theory that he was a fanatic and a visionary, but declared that his soul was, as it were, out of the body and in the other world.[1] Like Cardano (whom he resembled in many particulars), he could say "*Cum volo, video quae volo, oculis, non vi mentis*,"[2] and indeed he went far beyond his illustrious predecessor in the richness, variety and multiplicity of his visions. For Cardano reached the peak of his hypnagogic experiences by the time he was seven; and his hallucinations were seldom, if ever, auditory, but almost entirely visual, such as interlacing rings moving across the field of vision; castles, horses, crowds and grotesque shapes; or innumerable objects jumbled together in a chaotic medley of entangled images. In the case of Swedenborg his quiet confidence and childlike faith disarmed criticism; and even in the face of the gravest provocation he remained reasonable and almost unmoved.[3] He had found his vocation and his commission was derived directly from the Lord. So long as his faith remained sound his position was impregnable.

We have now to draw together the threads of Swedenborg's double life in the hope that we may be able to link the one to the other, and indeed show that the second half was not the discrete period that some suppose, but was built up out of the elements which formed an essential part of the first. It is here that the followers of the seer will register their most emphatic disagreement. Their own theories have, however, been put forward in so many publications that I do not propose to add to their number, especially as I am not disposed to accept their basic premises. What I intend to do here is to try, however imperfectly, to advance a series of suggestions which may help to describe the experiences of Swedenborg in psychological terms without, I hope, violating widely accepted opinions regarding the genesis of dissociation and its phenomena.

The key to Swedenborg's spiritual experiences will not be found merely through an attentive examination of the content of his dreams and his visions. If we wish to understand how so remarkable a change came about we must go backwards into the past. The roots from which sprang so amazing a blossom lay buried within him, and the seeds from which they grew were planted very early in his life.

We have already seen how the future seer grew up in a family steeped in the religious ideas of the time. To his father, Jesper Svedberg, the world was, as

[1] See C. C. Gjörwell's testimony in R. L. Tafel's *Documents*, etc., II, pp. 402 ff.

[2] *De rerum varietate libri XVI.* (Basiliae, 1557), p. 314.

[3] Cf. his attitude in face of the charges of "arrant nonsense" or "infamous and untruthful nonsense" which were launched against his books during his controversy with the Consistory at Gothenburg in 1768.

Lamm puts it, perpetually miraculous.[1] Ghosts and apparitions were so certain that only atheists and abandoned persons (*Atheister och Gudforgätne*) could deny their reality. Had not an angel actually visited him in his youth and recommended him to read such pious authors as Christian Scriver and Johann Arndt?[2] Had he not been attacked by the devil himself on one occasion, and was not the bishopric at Brunsbo noted for the way the possessed, the obsessed and the mystically inclined made it their stopping-place and their haven of rest? It was in this milieu that the young Emanuel grew up. From his fourth to his tenth year his thoughts were, as he tells us, constantly engrossed in reflections on God, salvation and the spiritual affections of mankind. His remarks, indeed, on these abstruse subjects were so profound that his parents declared that angels were speaking through him.

From the age of six to twelve he used to delight in discussing religion with clergymen, although he says that at that time he found some difficulty in appreciating the nature of the Trinity.[3] But his father was by no means the dreamer and fanatic that might be supposed. He was a hard-headed practical man, with plenty of determination and courage, together with an energy that must at times have become rather tiresome. He was, moreover, a reformer of no mean order; although his ideas met with much resistance and often failed to be carried to fruition. His was an aggressive and almost truculent nature; and we can get some idea of his personality when we remember that he married his second wife without ever having met her beforehand. He was a man who walked with the Lord and who, therefore, was hardly likely to be troubled with doubts and vague fears of failure or rebuff.

As Swedenborg grew up and began to travel, interest in theological speculation began to fade out of his ever active mind. It is true that now and then the early discussions again rose up, as when, in dealing with the sun as the centre of the solar system, the thought struck him that to suppose that it was the abode of the damned was an idea that could not be seriously entertained. His character was rapidly developing, and in many ways it was much like that of his father. Swedenborg was not a lovable man. He lacked humour, had little appreciation of art or of natural beauty, was rarely roused, and was of the prudent, careful, guarded and correct type of human being.[4] But his thirst for knowledge, his inordinate curiosity and the brilliance of his intellect, which in its conscious manifestations was mechanical rather than imaginative, foreshadowed what was to come.

In book after book his ideas were poured forth. Metallurgy, astronomy, anatomy and many other subjects engaged his attention. He overflowed with

[1] M. Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[2] See H. W. Tottie, *Jesper Svedbergs lif och versamhet* (Upsala, 1883–1886), I, p. 27.
[3] See his letter to G. A. Beyer, dated 1769, in R. L. Tafel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1045.
[4] See W. B. Yeats, *If I were four-and-twenty* (Dublin, 1940), p. 25; and cf. J. G. Dufty, *Swedenborg the Scientist* (London, 1938), p. 19. I need hardly point out to psychoanalysts what form of eroticism these character traits suggest, but will leave it to them to develop the theme and illustrate their findings by passages in Swedenborg's works, where they will find indications that their theories can be supported by the seer's own words.

new projects, fresh inventions and philosophical speculations. Considering the times in which he lived he was a clear-sighted and tireless searcher after truth, and his learning was recognized by all who knew him. But everywhere was not smooth sailing. Like his father before him, he met with little encouragement from some quarters and active opposition from others. Even many of his relations, he thought, did not think well of him. In 1719 he determined to go abroad, where he would be better appreciated. Why stay at home, he asked, where the Furies, Envy and Pluto have taken up their abode, and where all his work was rewarded with such shabby treatment?[1] The truth was that, far from objecting to being envied, he desired it, and in one of his letters (dated 1718) he said that perhaps in the future he would be envied still more. After all, he asked, what was the good of remaining in Sweden? Speculation and mechanical arts were left to starve, whilst what flourished were the intrigues of a set of political blockheads.

Although Swedenborg's opinion of his countrymen during the first phase of his life was obviously not high, he could not consciously bring himself to abuse them as he thought they deserved. Hence, in his later phase, when conscious control was relaxed, and the teeming contents of his unconscious came flooding over the barriers, he let himself go. The Swedes, he wrote in the *Diarium Spirituale* (5034, etc.), were among the most evil of the nations. They were supremely malicious and the truth was falsified in their minds. Their profligacy could not be described. After death they gave themselves over to the magic arts and committed crimes which were horrible beyond imagination.

As the years went by Swedenborg became more energetic than ever. His passion for women still tormented him, for, since the rejection of his suit by the young Emerentia Polhem about 1717, he apparently contracted no other alliance. There is no doubt that his failure to win her hand had affected him deeply, but he quickly steeled himself against allowing emotion to upset his work. He promptly published a pamphlet on the manufacture of tinplate.

The next few years gave Swedenborg the opportunity again to travel and prepare more works on his special metallurgical interests. His fame began to spread, and the diary of his travels gives a vivid picture of his lively interest in all that he saw. But he was not satisfied. Life was slipping by and his curiosity was insatiable. Although his learning was recognized abroad he still felt the need of appreciation at home. Moreover, his work had hitherto been almost entirely confined to material things, although even when dealing with them he could not refrain from now and then relapsing into philosophical speculation. What was the purpose behind it all? If he were to undertake an exhaustive study of the animal creation, might he perhaps be able to throw light on the nature of the soul, just as his theories on vibrations and particles might throw light on the nature of matter?

It was, possibly, with such thoughts as these that he began his detailed

[1] In a letter to his brother-in-law, Benzelius.

anatomical studies which he introduced in his preface to his *Regnum Animale* (*Animal Kingdom*). His mind was made up. He would examine every corner and try every door. Perhaps, God willing, he might succeed, and then all his previous work would fade into insignificance beside so grand and epoch-making a discovery. No longer would he then have to suffer the frustrations and obstructions to which he had for so long been subjected. But the task he had set himself had its own difficulties, which were harder, perhaps, to meet than the ones set in his way by his worldly enemies.

The soul eluded him now just as it had done previously when he was considering it in the *Economy of the Animal Kingdom*. It was necessary to see more clearly, and to realize that the soul was to be approached through God, for in Him we live and move and have our being. Was not that what his father had believed and what he himself had discussed in those far-off days at Brunsbo? In fulfilling his desires to acquaint himself with the nature of the material world, had he been in reality mistaking the shadow for the substance? Had the early talks about God and the soul been nearer to reality than he had realized all these years? Had he been asleep and was the awakening near at hand? Little did he know, it seems, how near it was, and how violent was to be the upheaval as the barrier between his two lives gave way and all his pent-up desires and longings were fulfilled in a way which not only completely satisfied him, but which was actually arranged for him by God Himself. Had he had the scepticism of Cardano when confronted by very similar experiences he might have wavered. But, unlike the Italian scholar, he was driven by two inexorable forces. The one sprang from his own desires and conscious wishes, and the other from the depths of his unconscious, where the early teaching had made ineffaceable traces and was now about to be enriched in a way which must have been possible only in a being of almost transcendent genius.

By accepting what had come to him Swedenborg was merely acting in a way which for him was almost inevitable.[1] His dearest wish was granted and his work divinely approved and inspired. What were the miracles of the Catholic Saints compared with his work? He spoke directly with angels and spirits, and as far as he knew such intercourse had not been granted by the Lord to anyone before.[2] Compensation for his frustration was attained. He would be able at last to pierce the veil whilst still incarnate. He would live in two worlds.[3]

From the brief account that has been given of the nature and possible psychological explanation of Swedenborg's visions and hallucinations, it is clear that these were genuine experiences and cannot be put down to fraud or

[1] Cf. H. Dingle, "Swedenborg as a physical scientist" (*Trans.* of the Swed. Soc., 1938, nr. 4, p. 6; and H. Gardiner, *Swedenborg's search for the soul* (*Ib.* 1936), nr. 2, p. 11.

[2] See his *Invitation to the New Church*, p. 39.

[3] How different from Cardano, whose desire to understand was as great as Swedenborg's and who wrote that he swore by all that was holy that to be able to understand and seize the meaning of all these marvels would be more valuable to him than to dominate the universe. But Cardano's hypnagogic hallucinations started at three and not at fifty-five! (See his *De propria vita liber* (Parisiis, 1643), cap. XLIII, p. 233; and cf. cap. XXXVII, p. 160.)

deliberate mystification on the part of the seer. Nevertheless, in a review of W. Clemm's introduction to religion J. A. Ernesti attacked him in the pages of his *Neue theologische Bibliothek*, Vol. VIII, pp. 874–875. Declaring that Swedenborg, like the most famous fanatics, favoured naturalism, he went on to say that this was either hidden beneath Biblical expressions or the theology of the Bible was changed to suit it. As to his revelations, these, according to Ernesti, might either be pure phantasies (*blosse Phantasien*) or simply illusions. But there was another alternative, and this, Ernesti thought, was doubtless the correct one. They might, for example, be fictions, with which he wanted to deceive the world, and he might well be laughing in his sleeve at the people who believed in him and who did not understand his art. Have there not been sufficient examples of such fictions in ecclesiastical history, Ernesti asked, by which simple and credulous people have been deceived and led into fanaticism? As a matter of fact, he continued, the times in which they lived were most suitable for such a deception, since even educated people were inclined to credit such phantasies and Swedenborg was aware of it.[1]

The same question was raised by Professor J. M. Schleiden of Jena in 1849. "Was this man," he asks, "a knave who took advantage of the simplicity of his believing readers? Was he a fraud, who under cover of religious enthusiasm exploited his supporters for selfish ends?" To this, he concludes we can answer "with the most perfect and the most firm conviction: no, he was not, neither the one nor the other".[2] With this verdict I am in complete agreement. Not only does it conform to the facts regarding Swedenborg's life and character, but it also can be supported by the description that Swedenborg gives of his own states. Indeed, whatever accusations might be levelled against the Swedish seer, that of fraud or selfish exploitation is the last that can be successfully upheld. Yet the same charge of connivance in a fraud was levelled against Swedenborg in connection with one of his three famous cases which are supposed to prove the claims that he made for his alleged intercourse with angels and spirits. Let us therefore examine these cases and in addition see just how Swedenborg treated sceptics and those desirous of better evidence than that afforded by hearsay and vague rumour.

As is so often the case with persons laying claim to strange and unusual powers, Swedenborg consistently refused to offer any clear-cut and convincing proof of the validity of his statements regarding his intercourse with the unseen world. From his correspondence it is clear that some of his followers would not have been unwilling to see him give some better evidence for his claims than that afforded by his writings. Thus in a letter addressed to Prelate F. C. Oetinger, who was instrumental through his translations in making known

[1] This is the correct reference to the passage, the location of which has long puzzled Swedenborgians, since Swedenborg himself gave the wrong page. See J. Hyde, *A Bibliography of the works of Emanuel Swedenborg* (London, 1906), p. 587; and W. White, *op. cit.*, II, p. 517. For Swedenborg's reply, see R. L. Tafel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 57, etc.

[2] J. M. Schleiden, "Swedenborg und der Aberglaube" (*Abh. der Fries'schen Schule* (Leipzig, 1849), VI, p. 116.

some of Swedenborg's works to German students, the seer discusses the question of a "sign", and declares that, although perhaps a sign might later be given, such tests are of little use, and cites the case of the miracles in Egypt and the effect of the miracles of Jesus on the Jewish people.

To the question, which had apparently been put to him by Oetinger, as to whether he had actually conversed with the apostles, he answered in the affirmative, and he added that he had been conversing with angels for twenty-two years (the letter is dated November 11, 1766), and was still conversing with them, but that there was little to be gained from mentioning this in his writings, "for who would have believed it?" In his reply, dated December 4, 1766, Oetinger returns to the same point, and somewhat wistfully remarks: "You say there is no need of signs; yet you add, 'But some sign will perhaps be given.' This is well."

From what we know of Swedenborg's views on the nature of certain of the incidents in his life which were attributed to his supernormal powers it seems that he objected greatly to their being classed as "miracles" in the sense in which he himself used that word. Writing to the Minister of Ludwig IX in 1771 he mentioned a case in which the Queen of Sweden was involved, and which excited great interest but which he said must by no means be regarded as a miracle but merely as a testimony that he had been introduced by the Lord into the spiritual world and had conversed there with angels and spirits. Indeed, he insisted on this point and repeated his statements that these things were not miracles "but merely testimonies", for those who did not believe unless they saw miracles were, he thought, very easily led into fanaticism.

From what can be gleaned from Swedenborg's writings it is obvious that he had but little patience with the claims of others to converse with spirits, to have visions or to exhibit any manifestations which might, in the eyes of some, signify the Divine favour. For example, when Dr. Gabriel A. Beyer, a Swedish theologian of some eminence and a follower of Swedenborg, drew his attention to some reports concerning certain visionaries, Swedenborg, in replying to his letter in 1769, airily dismissed their claims in a sentence, declaring that "with respect to the visions of several persons mentioned in your letter, they are nothing but fantastic visions". Similarly, in another letter dated 1771 he said that he had seen "two volumes full of miracles wrought by a certain Pâris",[1] but that these were "nothing but pure falsehoods, being in part fantastical and in part magical doings", the same being the case with "the other miracles among the Roman Catholics", a somewhat sweeping assertion which illustrates the trend of Swedenborg's mind. From a passage in his *Abomination of Desolation* we learn that Swedenborg had derived this surprising information from the spirit of Pâris himself, with whom he claimed to have conversed and from whom he had learnt that the miracles had been performed by "spirits who entered into the memory of men". As to the Deacon, Sweden-

[1] Obviously referring to the first two volumes of Carré de Montgeron's book on the Deacon of Paris, for which see my *Some Human Oddities*, pp. 68 ff.

borg declared that, as he did not apply himself to any religion, he knew nothing of the truth of the Church and was therefore among those who were in hell.[1]

There is no question that Swedenborg must have received numbers of letters from persons who were anxious to assure themselves of at least the partial validity of his claims. By far one of the most interesting of these was from his friend J. C. Cuno, a merchant banker at Amsterdam, who had had a wide experience of life and was interested in literature as well as in finance. In this letter,[2] which is dated 1769, Cuno candidly told his friend that the chief authority for his system was what he testified to having seen, and that people were naturally unwilling to believe unless a teacher proved what he wrote. "Men cannot be witnesses in their own cause," he continued, "especially in so important a matter as one upon which the welfare of the whole human family depends."

Cuno went on to say that even if he granted the claims made by Swedenborg others would not do so; and thus his friend was in duty bound to set forth the evidence on which they were based. If this be refused, then he must not take it amiss if not a single reader of his works was willing to believe. One eye-witness was worth more than ten others who had heard a thing on hearsay. The world had a right, Cuno insisted, to take added testimony to that of the principal witness. Even royal ambassadors had to prove their credentials. An ambassador from Heaven could do no less. Of what use had all these publications been? None whatever (*Gewiss gar keinen*). The principles were unproved. "Pardon me," Cuno concluded, "if I tell you what your readers will refrain from doing. What is it, bluntly, that distinguishes you from the other visionaries and enthusiasts whom you condemn?[3] Your spirits appear suspicious to me and I fear have not been sufficiently explored by you. Farewell."

From other letters that have been preserved it is clear that the methods employed by these seekers after information were very similar. Another such appeal (dated a year earlier) was addressed to Swedenborg by young J. K. Lavater, who at the time of writing was not yet thirty, and who was to be known later as the author of a remarkable work on physiognomy. "Most reverend and excellent man," he began his letter, and went on to say that he was writing a dissertation on the miracles that were effected through the power of prayer. Doubtless, he continued, Swedenborg was aware that God and Christ still worked miracles for the sake of the faithful, of which perhaps some had come to his knowledge which were beyond all doubt. And then (cannot we see the almost sly smile on his lips?) he went on to inquire if Swedenborg could tell him if it were true or not that a certain pious girl in Stockholm named Catherine Fagerberg had been curing many persons who had been given up as incurable. He then put a number of questions to Swedenborg, the answers

[1] It would be interesting to know what Swedenborg knew of the life of the saintly François.

[2] See F. C. G. Hirsching, *Historisch-litterarisches Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdige Personen* (Leipzig, 1810), XIV, pp. 18–25.

[3] Cuno is here referring to the passage in *Heaven and Hell*, 249.

to which might help him to be convinced concerning the "almost incredible reports" which he had heard concerning him.

It does not seem that Swedenborg replied to this appeal, since over a year later we find Lavater renewing his quest and asking him to get in touch with his (Lavater's) best friend, Felix Hess, who had recently died, and also enclosing a cipher test which Swedenborg would understand if what was reported of him were true. Whether Lavater got any reply to this further epistle I know not, but it can well be imagined what were Swedenborg's feelings on receiving a letter which, however submissive in tone, so clearly revealed an undercurrent of scepticism regarding the testimony of others.[1]

However numerous may have been the requests that Swedenborg received for some clear evidence of his claims, it does not seem that at any time he consented to gratify the prevailing curiosity, merely referring to certain incidents which had occurred, and declaring that they furnished testimony which could either be received or rejected. In this he was supported by many of his most ardent followers, as, for example, the simple-minded G. A. Beyer, who declared that, although Swedenborg's knowledge of hidden events had been proved by some well-attested instances, he was not disposed to make use of them in order to gain assent to his writings.

[1] Lavater's interest in such questions never seems to have been blunted. Indeed, vanity and love of the marvellous were the two faults with which he was most often reproached. In his letters to the Empress Marie of Russia he includes a few epistles supposed to have been written by a spirit to his friend on earth; and it is in these that his ideas on the subject can most clearly be seen. (See *Briefe an die Kaiserin Maria Feodorowna*, St. Petersburg, 1858). In his trip to Denmark in 1793 Lavater found himself well situated for the task of investigation, as at that time there were crowds of charlatans of every kind, somnambulists, visionaries, alchemists and magicians, who gained entrance to polite society and, as Bobé says, "beguiled aristocratic ladies with the wildest phantasies". (See *J. C. Lavater's Rejse til Danmark* (*Kjöbenhavn*, 1898), p. vi.)

One of the most remarkable of these impostors was the celebrated Gustaf Björnram (1745–1801), whose influence at one time was considerable in the Swedish Court. He is best remembered for the extraordinary séance that appears to have been given in August 1782 in the old church in Lovö. We owe the record of the proceedings to Dr. Hedin, who made an arrangement with the sacristan, Ekelund, whereby he concealed himself in the tower, and so was able to see what occurred whilst remaining unobserved. The first to arrive in the church was Björnram himself and his assistant, and Hedin soon saw that they were to play the principal parts in the events which were to follow. Having closed the doors of the church, the pair produced a number of different objects, some of which Hedin could not make out clearly from his cramped position in the tower. But what he did see was suspicious enough. Some masks were produced to which were fastened horse-hairs and threads, which were attached to the chandeliers. On the back of these masks, and attached to hoops, white material was stretched, and after these had been produced, powder was strewn about the floor. Soon after, the King himself arrived, accompanied by five members of his Court. Björnram then began to draw some crosses, and mumbled some mystic words, whilst his confederate prepared the materializations. Little by little the masks with their white shrouds were drawn upwards, and swayed slowly in the dim light. Although Hedin had seen all the preparations, he says he was unable to deny that the sight had something imposing about it, especially perhaps when the phantoms slowly descended, and the ignition of some flash powder had been carried out, presumably so as to blind the observers so that the masks could be safely taken away.

Hedin crept out of his hiding-place with very mixed thoughts, for he did not know whether it was his duty to reveal the fraud to the King or to the proper authorities at once or to await a more favourable opportunity (see *Sv. Uppslagbok*, IV (1930), p. 17; *Biographiskt Lexicon*, I (1835), p. 329; C. T. Odhner, *Sveriges politiska historia under Konung Gustaf III's Regening* (Stockholm, 1885–1905), II, p. 195; and cf. G. Rein, *Mystikern Björnram* (Comment. human. lit., X, nr. 1), Helsingforsiae, 1938.)

It sometimes happened that Swedenborg was asked point-blank whether he would deign to offer help in some difficulty or would satisfy the curiosity of an inquirer regarding the state of some deceased friend or relative. One interesting example of such an incident has been preserved and is worth recording here as illustrating the methods employed by Swedenborg when he had determined not to comply with the request. Those of my readers who are acquainted with similar incidents in the lives of more modern seers will observe how closely the method conforms to type, and how difficult it is to interpret the refusal without knowing more fully the basic facts in each case.

In 1766 a young man of twenty, Nicholas Collin by name, was acting as tutor in the house of Bishop Olaf Celsius of Lund, and hearing of the remarkable claims of Swedenborg he resolved to call upon him. From the account which Collin published over thirty years later it would seem that Swedenborg was much taken by him, since the conversation was said to have lasted some three hours, coffee was served, and Swedenborg assured him that it was true that he held converse with deceased persons. Thereupon Collin asked him if he would do him a favour and procure for him an interview with his brother, who had recently died. In reply Swedenborg is said to have told him that God had separated the world of spirits from our own sphere, and that communication was "never granted without cogent reasons", so that he would have to inquire what were Collin's motives for desiring communication. Young Collin thereupon confessed that his wish was founded merely upon brotherly affection and an ardent desire "to explore scenes so sublime and interesting to a serious mind". In reply Swedenborg said that such motives were good but not sufficient, since it could hardly be considered an important spiritual or temporal concern. It was only in such cases, he added, that communication was permitted.

An interesting sidelight on what happened when Swedenborg granted interviews to distinguished inquirers, and what impression he made on them, is furnished by the recollections of Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770), the son of Nicodemus Tessin, architect to Charles XI, and one of the ablest figures in Swedish history, being the leader of the "Hats" in the stormy period after the Peace of Nystad.

It was in 1760 that Tessin visited Swedenborg at his house in Hornsgatan. Tessin, who had made the visit in a spirit of curiosity, opened the conversation almost immediately on the subject of Swedenborg's book *Heaven and Hell*. To some of the seer's remarks Tessin made a few objections, for some of which the statesman says that "he did not seem particularly prepared, but stammered in an uncertain manner".[1] He said that he was forbidden to repeat what the

[1] It must be remembered that Swedenborg stammered at all times unless he spoke very slowly and deliberately, and it may well be that Tessin's visit made him rather nervous and naturally hesitant. On the other hand it ought to be recorded that when his friend J. C. Cuno was once arguing with him on a point where Swedenborg seemed to be contradicting himself, the seer was so confused that Cuno says that he had never heard him stammer so much before. Indeed, he writes, "I pitied him so much that I discontinued the argument."

angels and the departed had told him, and he added the information that only a few of the departed came to him for a longer period than a year, as gradually they forgot temporal things and remained in their heavenly homes.[1]

At the end of the conversation Swedenborg told his visitor that when his turn came to enter the Other World he would certainly be appointed to the Privy Council, to which Tessin retorted that he had had quite enough of that in this life.

In summing up his impressions Tessin was not as simple and direct as we should have liked. He said that, as he had both sound faith and sound reason, "it may well be inferred what my judgment is about this man". He found Swedenborg entertaining in conversation, apart from his views on certain spiritual matters, and by no means "obstinate, sensitive or self-sufficient, but friendly, courteous, and open-hearted". His judgment was good, Tessin thought, and he seemed to spend his life in contentment. As to what Tessin thought were his "phantasies", well, he added, "perhaps no medicine can be given for them" (*emot hvilka inga batemedel lara gifvas*).[2]

This extreme unwillingness on the part of Swedenborg to gratify the natural desire of inquirers may doubtless be put down to the reasons that he himself is said to have given to Collin, although there will certainly be others who will ascribe it to altogether different motives.[3] However this may be, followers of Swedenborg seem to be clearly somewhat disturbed at the lack of reliable evidence for his supernormal powers, and so they rarely hesitate to mention what Tafel calls the "extraordinary facts proving Swedenborg's intercourse with the Other World" (R. L. Tafel, *op. cit.* II, p. 612); whilst his modern biographer, G. Trobridge, actually heads the chapter regarding them "Signs of Seership"; and similarly H. de Geymüller in his *Swedenborg et les phénomènes psychiques* (Paris, 1934), p. 407, speaks of those facts which attest Swedenborg's "clairvoyance".

For the benefit of the serious student I propose, therefore, to discuss and analyse some of these cases, and submit them to the kind of treatment that the critical psychical researcher of today carries out when confronted with material of this nature.

The first of these incidents concerns a fire which took place in Stockholm on July 19, 1759, and which caused a good deal of damage to the southern suburb of the city before it was finally subdued. A whole section of the town between the Södermalm and the bridge of boats was destroyed, and among the buildings burnt were the church of St. Mary Magdalene, the Town Hall and a store which Russian merchants used for storing great quantities of hemp and tallow.[4]

[1] This interesting statement should be compared with the rather similar experiences of psychical researchers when working with certain of the famous "communicators" in the case of the more prominent trance mediums.

[2] See *Tessin och Tessiniana* (Stockholm, 1819), p. 357.

[3] He did not *always* evade attempts to put his powers to the test, as stated by T. B. Hyslop in his *The Great Abnormals* (London, 1925), p. 199.

[4] See *Sv. Mercurius*, Sept. 1760, p. 207; J. Elers, *Stockholm* (Stockholm, 1800–1801), III, pp. 46, 49, 284. The fire does not seem to be mentioned in Effenberger's *Die Welt in Flammen* (Hannover, 1913), or in M. Petit's *Les Grands Incendies* (Paris, 1882), although the former mentions fires in Stockholm in 1652, 1653, 1654, 1664, 1685, 1686, 1697, 1719, 1723, 1751 and 1822.

[1] See A. Hoffmann in his "Kant u. Swedenborg" (*Grenzfragen d. Nerven und Seelenlebens*, 1909, H. 69).

It is claimed that Swedenborg, when in Gothenburg, which is about 300 miles from Stockholm, had knowledge of this fire at about the time that it occurred, that he described some of the details the same day, and that subsequently these were verified when official news was received.

It was this story which so impressed the philosopher Immanuel Kant and it is in a letter from him to the twenty-three-year-old Charlotte von Knobloch that we can read the fullest account of the incident. Unfortunately the dates as given in Kant's letter seem so hopelessly awry that it would be tedious to discuss them here. Suffice to say that it appears that the information was collected both in Gothenburg and Stockholm by Kant's friend, Joseph Green, an English merchant, and that the latter in all probability made his investigation the year after the event occurred.[1]

According to this story Swedenborg was a guest at a party in Gothenburg. Towards six o'clock in the evening he went out, but soon returned looking pale and somewhat distraught. He told the company that a fire had broken out in Stockholm and was spreading fast. Unable to keep still, he kept going out and coming back, saying that the house of one of his friends had already been burnt and that his own was in danger. At eight o'clock, after having again been out, he returned and declared that the fire was over, having been extinguished three doors from his home. This news electrified the company, and soon spread: the Governor was informed, and later sent for Swedenborg, who was closely questioned. Two days later a messenger arrived from Stockholm, and the fire was described "precisely in the manner stated by Swedenborg".

Such in brief outline is the story of the Stockholm fire, and in the opinion of Kant it placed the assertion respecting Swedenborg's extraordinary gift "beyond all possibility of doubt" (*und benimmt wirklich allem erdenklichen Zweifel die Ausflucht*).

In spite of diligent researches carried out by modern followers of Swedenborg, it does not appear that any contemporaneous accounts of the incident have been unearthed. Green's original documents, if they ever existed, have not, I think, been preserved; and I am not aware that the Governor of Gothenburg made any notes which have come down to us and which thus might have provided first-hand evidence of exactly what Swedenborg told him. The earliest account, therefore, is the collection of data gathered by Green *some months* after the event, and transmitted either orally or in writing to Kant.

As far as Swedenborg himself is concerned, the only account that he himself gave of the incident, which has been published, is that alleged to have been given by the seer to E. Bergström and contributed by him to Peter Provo in 1787, *twenty-eight years* after the event. According to this account Sweden-

borg is reported to have said that he told the company at Gothenburg, where he was a guest, that his own house and garden were safe, although the flames had come near to both of them. There are a few other accounts which vary in detail but are all so long after the event that they need not here detain us. What seems clear is that (*a*) we have so far *no contemporaneous record whatever*; and (*b*) that the earliest and fullest account is that collected by Green, who undoubtedly must have seen and talked to some of the people whom he thought might provide him with the best and most reliable information. It is remarkable that Kant, had he wished to preserve the facts for the benefit of posterity, did not give fuller information as to the identity of the persons from whom they were derived, but it is probable that his interest was merely personal, and that he was unaware of the kind of evidence necessary to establish the validity of cases of this kind.

From the above brief analysis it will be seen that the evidence for the details of the incident is such that full acceptance of them is impossible. They *may* have occurred as described: the evidence is not sufficient to permit of a decision. What is more certain is that before news of the fire could apparently reach Gothenburg by normal channels Swedenborg was aware of it, and was reported to have told people of it whilst it was actually occurring.

The second incident to which Swedenborgians direct the attention of those wishing to obtain evidence of the seer's supernormal powers is a case in which Queen Ulrica Eleonora of Sweden was closely connected. The evidence is rather complicated, so I shall summarize it as briefly as possible in order to give the reader a clear idea of the kind of material with which we are faced when dealing with the signs of seership as demonstrated in the life of Swedenborg.

Unlike the case of the Stockholm fire, we are here met at the beginning of our inquiry by the fact that we do not know the date on which the incident was said to have occurred. From the available testimony it would seem to have happened towards the end of 1761, and possibly in November of that year. Apart, however, from the uncertainty regarding the date, which is not in itself of very great importance, we are further confronted by the fact that there are several versions extant of what was presumably the same incident. Moreover, as in the case of the Stockholm fire, we have no contemporaneous account,[1] the earliest record being probably in 1768, that is to say, some *seven years* after the event, later accounts being preserved in a varied sequence, some of them being actually twenty-seven years afterwards.

Let us begin the story by hearing what Swedenborg himself has to say on the subject. One of his statements was apparently given to General Christian Tuxen in or about 1768. Tuxen's own account of it was not, it seems, composed until 1790, when he himself was seventy-seven years old and when his memory

[1] Unless we accept the testimony of Kant in his *Träume eines Geistersehers* (Königsberg, 1766), where he says that his information was derived from an ambassador at the Swedish Court (Baron von Lützow) in a letter to the Austrian ambassador in Copenhagen. Even then the evidence is second-hand and possibly third- or even fourth-hand.

on certain points was already failing. Moreover, the original Danish text of Tuxen's report has not, I think, been preserved, and thus even if we accept the complete accuracy of his memory of what occurred, the conversation with Swedenborg, although probably the earliest account we have, took place seven years after the event to which it referred.

In his record Tuxen says that, having related the story to him in the same manner as he had previously been informed of it, Swedenborg went on to tell him some further details. It appeared that Count Carl F. Scheffer (1715–1786), who was at one time a member of the Swedish Senate and connected with the education of the young Swedish princes, came to see Swedenborg and asked him to come to the Court in order to see the Queen, who had said that she wanted to meet him. He did so and was then presented to the Queen, who asked him if it were true that he held intercourse with the dead. To this question Swedenborg replied in the affirmative; and after a few more questions the Queen asked him whether he would "undertake a commission to her lately deceased brother", August Wilhelm, Prince of Prussia (1722–1758). Swedenborg replied that he was very willing to do so, and at once accompanied the King, Queen and Count Scheffer to a window recess, where the Queen then entrusted him with the commission.

It was some days before Count Scheffer called again to see Swedenborg. He then asked him again to come to the Court, where the Queen, on seeing him, asked him not to forget her commission. To this reminder of his duty Swedenborg replied that he had already fulfilled it; and on delivering his message to the Queen she became so surprised that she was suddenly indisposed, but upon recovering herself declared that no mortal could have told her what Swedenborg had just said.

Having heard the story from Swedenborg's own lips, General Tuxen asked him if anybody else had heard what the Queen had said to him when delivering the commission, and to this Swedenborg replied that possibly both the King and Count Scheffer might have heard had they been paying close attention.

Before passing from Swedenborg's own testimony it will be well to mention some other brief accounts which were said to have been derived from him and subsequently recorded. The first is in a letter from Swedenborg to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, Ludwig IX (1719–1790), and dated in July 1771, ten years after the event. The seer is dealing with the testimonies that had accumulated as to the reality of his intercourse with angels and spirits, and he insists that these were not miracles, but merely "memorable occurrences". As an example of one of these incidents he mentions what was "reported of the brother of the Queen of Sweden", which was, he says, true, and then goes on to tell of how he conversed in the spirit world with Stanislaus Leczinsky, King of Poland, and how the latter delighted in being present incognito in assemblies of angels and spirits.

A more interesting record by Swedenborg himself is that which Christofer

Springer describes as having taken place during one of his conversations with him. Springer was one of Swedenborg's personal friends and they often used to meet and discuss affairs. In 1781 the Abbé Anton J. Pernety (1716–1801), who was interested in Swedenborg and was collecting information, wrote to Springer, and it is in the latter's reply, dated January 18, 1782, that the remarks are to be found. The original seems to have been lost, so we have to rely upon Pernety's French translation and the subsequent English versions. Unfortunately we have no information as to when the conversation in question took place, and as Springer was about to attain his seventy-ninth year, and both his strength and sight were failing, it cannot be claimed that his memory of the incident was in any way infallible. However that may be, there is some suggestion that the conversation took place about 1772, and that Swedenborg told him that, as regards the story of the commission by the Queen, "much of this is true, and much is not true; and perhaps the whole matter is better known in Berlin".

Now, if we assume that Springer's talk with Swedenborg took place in 1772, that is to say about eleven years after the event, it will be seen how, judging from Swedenborg's reply, there were already in existence stories which were devoid of truth, although unfortunately Swedenborg did not enumerate them at that time. What some of these tales were we shall see as we proceed. In the meantime let us see what Springer said on another occasion when, in March 1778, Henry Peckitt, who was closely associated with the development of the New Church, called on him to discuss certain matters connected with Swedenborg.

At this meeting Springer told Peckitt that what had happened was that the Queen had not received any replies to the letters which she had addressed to her brother, Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia. After his death in 1758 she was very anxious to know if he had received them, and this was the reason why she wanted to consult Swedenborg. After having received her commission and executed it Swedenborg told her that the Prince in the spirit world had told him that the letters had been received and that he had meant to answer them, an unfinished letter being actually left in a writing-desk. Thereupon the Queen wrote to the King of Prussia and in due course she received the unfinished letter.

Another account, which was said to have been given by Swedenborg to Dean Arvid Ferelius, and which he communicated in 1784 to Carl Johan Knös, was told to R. L. Tafel during his trip to Sweden in 1870. Ferelius was at one time pastor of the Swedish Church in London, and it was he who attended Swedenborg at his last hours. As he was in London between 1761 and 1772 it is possible that his conversation with Swedenborg was between those dates. In his statement Swedenborg is said to have told him that the Queen had asked him about a certain circumstance, which no one knew except herself and her brother, who was already dead. When he conveyed the answer to her she was so overcome that she almost fainted, and "this is the truth about it".

Before we finally pass from Swedenborg's testimony to that of the Queen herself it may be as well briefly to mention what Bergström is said to have told Provo in the same document from which I have already quoted in connection with the Stockholm fire. According to this version, which, be it remembered, was twenty-eight years later, Swedenborg said that the Queen had secretly burnt a letter from her brother which she had received a short time before he was killed in battle, and that she wanted to know some particulars relative to its contents. Swedenborg told her that her brother was offended that she had destroyed the letter, and as this was known to no other person she nearly fainted when it was revealed. We have no means of telling how true this version may be, but it is worth pointing out that Prince August did not die in battle but probably in his bed near Berlin.

Having heard what Swedenborg himself had to say on the matter, let us now turn to the testimony of the Queen herself. Two sources are open to us and the divergence between them is remarkable.

The first account was included by Dieudonné Thiébault (1733–1807) in his book *Mes Souvenirs de vingt ans de séjour à Berlin*, of which the first edition was issued in 1804. He was an academician of no mean ability and for some twenty years enjoyed the favour and confidence of Frederick the Great and the Court at Berlin. When Queen Ulrica visited that city in 1772 it seems that she talked to Thiébault about Swedenborg; and thus her account was eleven years after the event, and was only recorded in print by its recipient *forty-three years* after it had occurred.

According to this story Swedenborg had come one evening to the Court and the Queen had taken the opportunity to ask him if he would discover from the spirit of her brother what he had said to her when she had last seen him in 1744. On his return some days later Swedenborg informed her that he could not disclose what he had to say in the presence of witnesses, so the Queen, asking a Senator to accompany her, went into another room, where Swedenborg told her that she had last taken leave of her brother at Charlottenburg on a certain day and at a certain hour, and that as she was passing down a long gallery she met him again, and that then he had taken her by the hand and led her to a certain window, where he could not be overheard, and then he had said certain words to her. According to the Queen the words were the same as actually used by her brother and "that her recollection was perfect" (*qu'elle n'avoit certes pas oubliés*).

Corroboration was obtained from the Senator, J. P. von Schwerin, who accompanied her to the meeting with Swedenborg, since upon being asked for his version he replied that what she had said was true as far as he was concerned.

From the above account it will be seen how different was the story told by the Queen to Thiébault from that contributed by Swedenborg. In the one case it is a matter which concerns the contents of a *letter*: in the other what was obtained was information about a secret *conversation*.

A further mystery, however, awaits solution. In the April 1788 number of

the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* appeared an article addressed to the editors by a highly reliable contributor (*eine höchst glaubwürdige vortreffliche Persönlichkeit*), who claimed that the Queen granted him free access to her and told him the whole story. The identity of this person has, I think, never been revealed with certainty. L. L. von Brenkenhoff, whose father was high in court favour at the time of Frederick II, dealt with the article above-mentioned in the second part of his *Paradoxa* (Berlin, 1789), and there he says that he was acquainted with the author, whose words could not be doubted, so that it was quite incomprehensible how the Queen could have told him the story as recorded by him in the Berlin journal.

Now, in this account the Queen is alleged to have stated that she was fully acquainted with the story as well as with the reasons why many people had tried to maintain belief in it against her own better conviction (*gegen ihre eigene bessere Uberzeugung*). What had happened was, she said, that on one occasion when talking with Swedenborg she had made all kinds of objections against the possibility of his visions, whereupon he offered a proof in support of their validity. She had thereupon asked him to obtain from the spirit of her brother the meaning of certain expressions that he had at one time used, but which she had failed to understand. Swedenborg had left her with the assurance that sooner or later he would report on the success or otherwise of his mission; but this information was never forthcoming (*diese Nachricht aber sei ihr niemals geworden*). Moreover, Swedenborg had obviously avoided the opportunity of having any conversation with her, and on two occasions when he was unable to escape he told her that he could not as yet get the spirit of the Prince to talk with him. He also told her that it was not in his power to converse with spirits when and how he liked, and that it might be years before the Prince might come to him. He asked her therefore to have patience, but this patience was not crowned with success. Swedenborg died without talking to the Prince and, says the writer of the article, the Queen herself died without having as much faith as a grain of mustard seed in his visions (*ohne mit einem Senfkorn Glauben an seinen Visionen zu hängen*).

Another article in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (1788) was published in, I think, the same or a later number, and on the same subject, and contributed by another anonymous correspondent described by the editors as "a distinguished gentleman" (*Brief eines angesehenen Kavaliers*), and which gave an entirely different and almost incredible picture of the whole affair.

The writer alleged that, having heard of the occurrence regarding the Queen and Swedenborg in 1771, he visited Stockholm to make inquiries. There he saw the Queen herself, and having heard the story from her own lips he soon found that she seemed so convinced of the reality of Swedenborg's converse with the spirit world that he scarcely dared to express any doubts or suspicions of secret intrigues, as a regal "I am not easily duped" put an end to any refutations (*Dennoch schien sie mir von den übernatürlichen Swedenborgischen Geisterkonferenzen so überzeugt, dass ich es kaum wagen durfte, einige Zweifel und meinen Verdacht von geheimen Intrigen zu äussern; und ein königliches:* je ne suis pas facilement dupé *endigte alle Widerlegungen*).

Continuing his story the writer says that next day he paid a visit to old Jean François Beylon, at one time reader to the Queen and the centre of the circles in which passed the secrets and intrigues of state. He told Beylon what the Queen had told him, and was met with a knowing smile, which was later amplified by an account of what was supposed to have happened.

According to this story the Queen was suspected as being one of the causes of the attempted revolution in Sweden in 1756, and it was then that she wrote to her brother in Prussia. Soon afterwards he died without her having heard from him, and this was why she asked Swedenborg to interrogate his spirit with a view to discovering the facts.

At this interview both Count Anders J. von Höpken (a member of the Swedish Executive Council and Chancellor of the University of Upsala) and Count C. G. Tessin, the famous Swedish statesman, were present, and as it was Count von Höpken himself who had intercepted the Queen's letter to her brother it was resolved to make use of the incident to teach the Queen a lesson. They therefore visited Swedenborg at dead of night, told him the circumstances and persuaded him to connive at the plan they had concocted. Swedenborg agreed and the whole plan was carried through without a hitch.

It appeared that Beylon suspected what was happening when he saw von Höpken and Tessin slinking out of Swedenborg's house, for by chance the old man was passing by in the early hours of the morning when the statesmen were on the point of leaving. Since he had been present when the Queen gave Swedenborg the commission he put two and two together, and the contributor to the Berlin paper had the account confirmed by another important person concerning which "there is not the slightest doubt".

The publication of this story excited much comment and several attempts at rebuttal were printed. At this time, however, it would be both tedious and unprofitable to discuss it in any detail. From what we know of both von Höpken and Tessin the story is, to say the least, unlikely, and I find it very difficult to believe that Swedenborg would have ever lent himself to such a manœuvre as that outlined in the story.

Count von Höpken's own version appears to have been written in February 1784 after he had read Carl Robsahm's life of Swedenborg. In this account the incident is made to revolve round the answer that Swedenborg gave the Queen regarding a letter which she had addressed to her brother when alive, and von Höpken states that the reason why she did not discuss the matter was that she did not want people in Sweden to think that she corresponded with anyone living in the country with which Sweden was at war.

These stories are an indication of the numerous versions that had been circulating since 1761. Yet nearly twenty years prior to the articles in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* J. C. Cuno had told Swedenborg of the gossip that was going on all the time, and which was continually adding "some new and

odd circumstances" to the incident. Moreover, he implored him to make known the facts. "You owe this to the cause of truth," he concluded.

I now pass to the third of the "three extraordinary facts" which testify, in the opinion of Swedenborgians and others, to the supernormal faculties of the seer.

There are nearly a dozen sources for this story, and the earliest can certainly not be dated before 1767, which is six years after it happened. Moreover, as far as we know, there is no account extant by a proved eye-witness (if we exclude that of Swedenborg himself) and thus we have to rely upon second-hand testimony even in the earliest and thus possibly the best account.

According to the same Joseph Green who made the inquiries regarding the Stockholm fire, it appears that the widow of the Dutch ambassador in Stockholm (who is called by Kant "Madame Harteville" in his letter to Charlotte von Knobloch) was called upon some time after her husband's death to settle an account for a silver service which, it was alleged, had not yet been paid for. "Mme. Harteville" (or, rather, Mme. de Marteville, which was her real name) could not understand this, since she well knew how careful her husband was on all such matters, but she could not contest the claim, as the receipt for payment was not to be found. She thereupon asked Swedenborg to call upon her, put her difficulty before him, and begged him to contact her husband in the spirit world and ask him about the missing receipt.

Swedenborg agreed to do his best, and three days later he called upon her and told her that he had conversed with her husband, who had informed him that the debt had been paid seven months before his death and that the receipt was in a bureau in the house. Mme. de Marteville in reply told Swedenborg that the bureau had been cleared out and that no receipt had been found there. Swedenborg then told her that her husband had described to him how in the left-hand drawer there was a secret compartment containing secret correspondence and also the receipt. On going upstairs to investigate Mme. de Marteville found the compartment as described, and in it were the papers and the missing receipt.

Another account was that included in a work on theology by Dr. H. W. Clemm, which was published in Tübingen in 1767. He says that a certain widow was being pressed by a creditor for a sum of money the receipt for which she was unable to find. On asking Swedenborg for help, the latter interrogated the spirit of her husband, who told him that the receipt would be found in a certain place in a bureau, and that the document was later said to have been discovered there.

From Swedenborg himself we have two alleged accounts, one of which merely mentions the fact whilst the other gives details which can be briefly summarized here. The account is included in Robsahm's *Memoirs* (1782) and was said to have been derived directly from the seer. Here it is stated that, when asked by Robsahm about the incident, Swedenborg said that Mme. de Marteville had come to see him and that he had promised her that should he meet

her husband he would mention the matter to him. This was accomplished, and the dead ambassador told him that "he would go home that evening, and look after it", but that he did not receive any other answer for his widow. Moreover, Swedenborg is said also to have told Robsahm that this was the only share he had in bringing the matter to light. According to Robsahm it was merely rumour which had it that the widow dreamt that she was speaking with her husband, who told her that the receipt would be found in the place where he was accustomed to put things away.[1]

Although we have no account of the incident from Mme. de Marteville herself, we have a letter from her second husband to Canon Bibra, which is dated 1775. Here he says that M. de Marteville appeared to his wife in a dream, and that the missing receipt was pointed out to her as lying in an English case in which was later found not only the receipt but also a valuable hair-pin. He goes on to say it was not until the next day that Swedenborg arrived, and told Mme. de Marteville that he had seen her husband, who had refused to speak with him as he had to go to his wife to tell her something of importance.

Later stories are even more contradictory. Thiébault, from whom we have already quoted, says that he got his information from C. H. von Ammon, brother of Mme. de Marteville. According to this version the missing receipt was for some pieces of cloth which had been supplied, and on being asked by Swedenborg about it, M. de Marteville told him that it was between the leaves of a book, where it was subsequently found. According to another story, this time supplied by an anonymous Russian, who was in touch with the Russian ambassador at Stockholm, and which was published by Jung-Stilling in 1837, what happened was that M. de Marteville had bought an estate and that it was the receipt for this property that had disappeared. As Mme. de Marteville did not know Swedenborg, the Russian ambassador managed the affair for her, and told Swedenborg the details of her loss.

After a few days Swedenborg told him to tell the widow that her husband would appear to her at midnight and tell her where the receipt was to be found. At the appointed hour the apparition became visible and pointed out the place where the receipt lay, namely in a little closet or safe let into the wall. Next morning Mme. de Marteville went to the spot indicated and found the missing paper.

Such are the stories which have gathered around the incident of the missing receipt. In one case reference is made to a *silver service*, in another to some *pieces of cloth* and in a third to an *estate*. Similarly we have the discovery of the paper attributed to a *statement from Swedenborg himself*, to a *dream* on the part of Mme. de Marteville and finally to the *appearance* of M. de Marteville himself.

An attempted explanation of the occurrence was included in the discussions of Swedenborg's experiences from which we have already quoted, and which were published in the number of the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* for April

[1] See R. L. Tafel, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 45–46 etc.

1788. The writer is again anonymous, and states that, on a certain occasion, Swedenborg had borrowed a book from M. de Marteville (whom he calls "von Martefeld"), and in it had discovered the receipt, which had been probably been put in as a book-mark. On returning the book he said nothing about it; but when the receipt was being looked for he gave the information as if it had been derived from the spirit of M. de Marteville.

This story aroused much controversy, and the Countess von Schwerin, sister of Mme. de Marteville's brother, stated in a letter to L. L. von Brenkenhoff that she had contacted Letocard, the secretary to the Dutch Embassy, who was in charge after the death of M. de Marteville, and who, she says, was an eye-witness, since he was living at the Embassy at the time of the occurrence. Unfortunately Letocard himself, in the account he sent to the Countess von Schwerin, does not say that he was an eye-witness, but merely reports that version of the incident which narrates the story of the silver service, the lost receipt for which was found in a secret drawer of a bureau according to the information said to have been given by the deceased M. de Marteville to Swedenborg, who had been approached on the matter.

Before summing up the general impression that is to be gained from the foregoing analysis of three outstanding facts which have been emphasized as illustrating Swedenborg's supernormal powers, it may be as well to consider two further instances of alleged phenomena for which it appears that normal explanations are not easy to find. They are of especial interest since they show that the statements made by Swedenborg to various inquirers cannot be relied on, and that his general refusal to satisfy sceptical visitors was not always maintained.

In the famous interview that Tessin had with Swedenborg in 1760 we are told that the seer told his visitor that *future* events were reserved to the Lord alone, and a similar assurance was given to C. C. Gjörwell, who was told by Swedenborg some four years later that *he did not know the future.* In view, however, of a story told by Professor J. B. von Scherer, this was not always the case. It appears that, according to the Rev. Moser, who was formerly one of Scherer's students at Tübingen, the latter told him a story about the seer which made a great impression on him. One day, when Swedenborg was in company with some other people in Stockholm, it was proposed to put his extraordinary faculties to the test. He was therefore asked which among those present would die first. After a period of meditation Swedenborg said that a certain Olof Olofsohn would die the next morning at 4.45 a.m. A friend of Olofsohn was present; and early next day he went to the latter's house to see if anything had happened. On his way he was met by Olofsohn's servant, who informed him that his master had just died of apoplexy. Moreover, a clock in the house of the deceased man had stopped at the moment he had died, and the hands pointed to the time.[1]

[1] This incident can be compared with the prediction of the death of Vergilio narrated by Cardano in his *De propria vita liber* (Parisiis, 1643), p. 221.

As in so many of the stories about Swedenborg's powers, the evidence for this tale is not weighty, although it is suggestive of an incident in which the seer did attempt to demonstrate prevision. We do not know if Professor Scherer himself was present when Swedenborg gave the test. We do not know even when it occurred. All we know is that Mr. Moser wrote to Dr. I. Tafel telling him of the incident, which was told to Moser by Scherer between 1818 and 1821, when the professor must have been nearly eighty years old, and that Tafel published it in 1845.

The second incident about to be related is recorded by J. H. Jung-Stilling in 1808. Although he says he can vouch for the truth of it, his way of telling it makes the cautious reader wonder how much of it can be accepted.

It appears that a friend of Jung-Stilling in Elberfeld, who had died "long ago", once told him an anecdote about Swedenborg which went to show that the latter did not always refuse a test when it was presented. Being in Amsterdam on business, Jung-Stilling's acquaintance determined to visit Swedenborg, as he had heard much about him. Having called on him, he was received politely and a conversation ensued which Jung-Stilling records in detail, although it is obvious that it has been made up from memory or possibly from scattered notes. At any rate, the merchant asked Swedenborg not to take it amiss if he desired incontestable proofs of his intercourse with the spiritual world, to which the seer replied that it would be very unreasonable of him to object, although he thought he had given sufficient proofs, such as those concerned with the Queen of Sweden, with the Stockholm fire and with the missing receipt.

On hearing Swedenborg mention these cases the merchant replied that many objections had been brought against them, and he craved a similar proof for himself. Instead of rejecting his proposal, as Swedenborg did to Nicholas Collin and to Lavater, he declared his entire willingness, so thereupon his visitor asked him to find out what was the subject of the talk that he had had with a certain friend just before the latter's death. Swedenborg asked the name of his friend, and told him to come back in a few days. When he returned, Swedenborg said that he had spoken with his friend, who had told him that the subject of the conversation was "the restitution of all things", and he went on to detail precisely what his friend had maintained. The merchant became pale, since the proof was powerful and invincible.

What are we to make of this case? Let us see what Jung-Stilling made of it. "That Swedenborg had frequent intercourse with the denizens of the spirit world," he writes, "is not open to any doubt but is an established fact."

There are doubtless many people today who would agree with Jung-Stilling's verdict on this incident, and indeed invoke the same explanation (if it can be called such) for some of the other remarkable stories of Swedenborg's alleged powers. Others, however, would be more cautious. They would tend rather to examine the evidence with the same careful scrutiny that is used

in appraising the value of similar stories which it is the duty of the psychical researcher to investigate.

Viewed from this standpoint, how weak the evidence becomes, even on a hasty examination. Dates are hazy, original documents are lacking, the details often vary as regards the same case, and even some of Swedenborg's contemporaries show themselves dissatisfied at his unwillingness to assist more detailed inquiries. Even in the case of the Stockholm fire, which is perhaps the best from the evidential point of view, we cannot say that we possess the necessary information which would help us to come to any decision as to the precise classification into which the case may be said to fall. It certainly seems likely from the scanty evidence we possess that something happened that evening at Gothenburg, and that Swedenborg did announce the fact of a conflagration at Stockholm before the news could have normally reached Gothenburg.

It is, in my opinion, quite unthinkable that the seer arranged for a fire to be started purely in order to provide a sensational case in which he was to be the principal figure. It does not seem to have been suggested by anyone at the time, and can, I think, be safely disregarded. What other normal sources of information were available is not easy to determine.

It might, perhaps, be suggested by persons who are not meteorologists that some peculiar quality in the sunset or afterglow, caused by the smoke and dust, might have attracted Swedenborg's attention, and that he interpreted this appearance as due to a large fire many miles off.

If we assume that Swedenborg's knowledge was not derived through the normal channels of sense, then all that can be said is that it is an example of information supernormally acquired, and leave it at that. The same standpoint can be maintained regarding the other cases, although one version of the story of the lost receipt does not appear to be impossible of a normal explanation, as was pointed out some years later. A person of Swedenborg's position in society would certainly be well acquainted with secret compartments in writing-desks, and the fact that Mme. de Marteville had not known of it gave Swedenborg the opportunity of pointing it out. Details are so blurred that it is not now possible to examine the case; and it must be remembered that Swedenborg himself related the story in a way which suggested that he had played but a small part in the discovery of the missing paper.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to embark on a lengthy discussion of these incidents. They fall far below the standard required by even moderately cautious psychical researchers of today, and their interest lies in a rather different direction from that of the precise interpretation that can now be put upon them. For if we assume for the sake of argument that some, at least, of these cases are only explicable on the supposition that Swedenborg possessed supernormal powers, then the seer provided yet a further illustration of a person of complex psychological make-up in which traces of what has been called "extra-sensory perception" can sometimes be found and be separated

out from a mass of visionary material derived from purely normal sources. Such obscure phenomena are not uncommonly reported in these cases. The records of the Society of Friends contain many of them and they abound in the biographies of the Roman Catholic Saints. Had Swedenborg examined his psychological experiences with the same degree of acumen that he displayed in his physical researches he might have become one of the leading psychologists as well as one of the leading metallurgists of his time. Such a development was, however, impossible. In the world of matter he was a grown man; in what he supposed to be that of spirit he was back in the nursery at Brunsbo. The activities of his mind were as divided as those of his life in the society in which he moved. He lived in two worlds.

APPENDIX

Emanuel Swedenborg: Life in Two Worlds

In dealing with Swedenborg's visions and spiritual experiences, some attempt was made to discuss the nature of hallucinations in general and hallucinations of the sane in particular. An examination of the evidence showed quite conclusively, I think, that Swedenborg experienced a whole series of hallucinations of different kinds, and that the attempts by Swedenborgians to deny the hallucinatory character of many of them must be doomed to failure. After all, it is largely a question of words. Unless psychologists are to abandon the accepted practice of calling certain experiences *hallucinations* (which is clearly out of the question), then some, at least, of Swedenborg's experiences can be thus named.

The only way that Swedenborgians can escape from accepting this position is to bring forward evidence that, for example, Swedenborg's visions just before sleep contain features which sharply distinguish them from phenomena apparently identical in nature experienced by other visionaries. It is beside the point to maintain that these visions differ from those of others inasmuch as they form an essential part of the basis on which Swedenborg's theological system was constructed. This does not affect the fundamental *nature* of the experience but merely its *interpretation*. The fact is that if Swedenborg did not experience what we are now accustomed to call hallucinations, then no one has ever experienced them. In other words, many of Swedenborg's experiences were clearly hallucinatory in character.

In order that the reader may get a vivid idea of the kind of hallucinations that may be experienced by sane men, I am including here an account of the cases of four persons, drawn from different periods and countries, which are specially noteworthy as illustrating how hallucinations tend to vary according

to the personality, temperament and education of those experiencing them If we consider these carefully, we shall gain, I think, a still clearer insight into the development and meaning of Swedenborg's hallucinatory system, and see how he expanded and extended it so as to make it a basis on which to erect the foundation-stones of a new church.

In this respect he was merely one of the many religious visionaries who have made their mark on the history of their times. But what was so striking about him was the fact that, as an educated and profoundly learned man, he utterly failed to realize what was happening to him, and even when his suspicions were aroused he cast them away from him as due to some diabolic form of temptation. It is not at all surprising that such visionaries as the almost uneducated Engelbrecht and Tennhart did not understand the true nature of their experiences. What was surprising in their case was the rich complexity of the literary output which flowed from them.

The interpretation that men like Swedenborg and Tennent put upon their visions and hallucinations was conditioned by their early upbringing and religious outlook. As we have already seen in the case of Engelbrecht (see p. 18), and shall now see in the case of Tennhart, precisely similar factors were at work. Profound learning and experience in the physical sciences were no help to Swedenborg, although in the case of Nicolai, which we are about to discuss, a moderate acquaintance with the natural sciences was sufficient to prevent him from mistaking the nature of his extraordinary hallucinations. For in the case of Swedenborg there was the conscious wish to penetrate the veil as well as the inexorable, unconscious drive within him which led him to seize upon his early hallucinations and interpret them as the opening of his spiritual vision. Let us then see how some of his hallucinations can be compared with those of others. We will begin with Johann Tennhart.

Johann Tennhart was born in 1661 in Dobergast, an insignificant village in Saxony. Both his parents were of peasant stock, pious but ignorant and poorly educated, and young Johann was brought up like other boys of his class, going to school at Pegau, but without any particular attention being paid to his schooling. His religious education, however, was not neglected, and the teaching he received soon began to have an effect upon him. He was of a dreamy and imaginative disposition and even during his childhood he had some minor visions which persuaded him that he was being prepared for the service of God. Before he was ten the Devil appeared to him in the shape of a man wearing a yellow collar with black bands; and later on, when he had left the village and taken up haircutting in Augsburg, the Holy Trinity appeared, and sat down at the same table with him, a vision which so terrified him that he fainted away.

Tennhart was clever with his hands, and so he learnt the art of wig-making, made some money, contracted a good marriage and settled down in a comfortable home of his own. Fate, however, was not kind to him, for he lost his wife and one of his children. With his misfortune came a return to the old

religious teaching, for he came to the conclusion that he had been too much occupied with worldly things and that God was teaching him a lesson. Visions confirmed his belief, and his feeling of guilt was exemplified in the same way as that of Swedenborg, for one day, after he had a good meal, he heard an inner voice which said, "Stop eating."

Once the visions had begun and were encouraged by Tennhart they developed just as in the case of Swedenborg. He lay sometimes half asleep and half awake and at times could hardly decide which it was. The Devil appeared with a black face and sat on his bed and terror took possession of him. When it became almost unbearable, a figure of a man came down apparently through the ceiling and got on the bed, an incident which even increased his fear, as he thought that it must be a ghost of some kind. The Devil, however, quickly made off, and then Tennhart turned his attention to the other figure, but this also disappeared.

In 1704 he received his Divine commission. One night he heard a soundless voice within himself which repeated thrice the injunction to listen carefully to what was going to be said, for he was in great spiritual danger. Then he was told that in the Heavenly Kingdom he was to be God's clerk and that messages were to be given through him.[1]

Other visions followed and the revelations contained in his writings began to alarm the ecclesiastical authorities. He was persecuted and imprisoned and finally, in order to avoid the constant supervision of the Nuremberg authorities, he gave up his citizenship and started on a long series of travels, preaching in the towns and villages and proclaiming the results of his revelations. In September 1720 he arrived at Cassel, where he was taken ill and died at the inn, being too weak to rally from a fever which had left him prostrate.

Of Tennhart's writings the most important for the student of his visions are *Gott allein soll die Ehre seyn . . . Benebst meinem Johann Tennharts Lebenslauf* (Nürnberg, 1710), and his *Worte Gottes: oder Tractätlein an den sogennanten geistlichen Stand* (Nürnberg, 1710), in which the continuation of his life-story is printed. The whole work was issued with additional material in 1712, translated into French and published in Switzerland in 1712 and reprinted in a German edition in Basel the same year. In 1837 the *Schriften aus Gott durch J. Tennhardt* was edited by L. Hosacker, and published in Tübingen and Leipzig in one volume.

In 1724 Tobias Eisler, Tennhart's friend, brought out, probably in Helmstadt, his *Apologia Tennhartiana*, in which he discussed the visionary's experiences and attempted to answer the objections that had been raised against the interpretations put upon the revelations by the unbelievers. Eisler pointed out (p. 7) that there have been some who have said that Tennhart himself was the only witness in his own cause, and that there was the possibility that he might have been deceived and that his experiences might well have

[1] Cf. Swedenborg's statement that he was merely the secretary and that material was dictated to him.

been the result of illness "or of melancholy" (p. 12). To these objections Eisler replied in the way that might have been expected, and in the same manner as the Swedenborgians have attempted to reply to similar objections in the case of the Swede. Indeed, the cases of Tennhart and Engelbrecht have so much in common with that of Swedenborg that a defence of the one can hardly fail to be of use in defending the others. They stand or fall together.

We can now pass on to another instance which has become a classic in the literature concerning hallucinations in the sane. I refer to that of Nicolai.

The case of Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) presents an even better comparison with that of Swedenborg than does that of Johann Tennhart. For it is here that we can see clearly how the effects of early education and upbringing can influence the interpretation of psychological experiences of a very unusual kind.

Like Swedenborg, Nicolai lost his mother when still quite young. His father, who was in the book trade, was a man of strong character, religious, quiet and thrifty, and with a decided bent towards the practical rather than the idealistic. He gave his son the best education that he could afford, at the same time providing him with a good deal of religious teaching, which at times rather annoyed young Nicolai, who had an exceedingly inquiring and speculative turn of mind. When he was not engaged in his father's business Nicolai was attending classes in Berlin, where he learnt something about natural science and the achievements of mechanical invention. Just as Swedenborg's association with Polhem opened up a new world to him, so did Nicolai's classes direct his attention away from business to scientific discovery and philosophical speculation. But to these studies Nicolai added those of political and social history, which Swedenborg had always somewhat neglected. He became friendly with the German author G. E. Lessing and the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, but his rather conservative ideas in some directions led to many disputes in literary circles.

In 1760 he married Elisabeth Makaria, the daughter of Dr. Samuel Schaarschmidt, who at one time held the position of physician to the King. She was well educated, and Nicolai and his family soon obtained social recognition on account of their hospitality and friendly board. His energy, it is true, could hardly equal that of his friend Lessing, but he published a number of books, and his connexions with the book trade brought him numerous contacts with the literary figures of the period. As he grew older his tendency to rationalism increased, and he made a number of attacks on superstition and fanaticism. He was anxious that various delusions should be investigated, and he always harboured the suspicion that the narratives concerning apparitions could be explained by imposture. Little did he realize that he was himself about to have a series of experiences which were some of the most remarkable ever recorded.

Towards the middle of the year 1790 he had to face a number of troubles

of one sort and another which greatly agitated him. Seven years before he had had attacks of giddiness for which he was medically treated by bleeding and by other means. Early in 1791 some unpleasant incidents occurred, which renewed the annoyance that he had felt the year before; and on February 24 he was in an excited and perturbed state. His wife and another person were in his room during the morning trying to console him when suddenly, at about ten paces off, he saw the figure of a deceased person which he pointed out to his wife. She saw nothing and tried to calm him, and apparently succeeded, as he soon took a nap which lasted about half an hour. But the same afternoon the figure again appeared. It came and went, and at six o'clock the same evening other figures made their appearance.

Nicolai was puzzled. He explained the apparitions by assuming that they were connected with his excitement and disordered nerves, and he determined to investigate them more closely and try to discover any connexions they might have with the operations of his own mind.

The figure of the deceased person never appeared after the first day. Others replaced it, both living and dead and both known and unknown to Nicolai. He did his best to call up the figures of people he knew by the exercise of his imagination, but in vain. He was well aware that the hallucinations proceeded from within himself; and he was gradually able to devise tests by which he could distinguish a real person coming into the room from the appearance of a phantasm.

The appearances were gradually increasing in number. They came by day and night, both indoors and outside. Sometimes they were seen when the eyes were closed and sometimes not. Occasionally animals appeared, and all the figures were full size in their natural colours, although Nicolai noticed that the colours were somewhat paler than would have been the case in real life.

About four weeks after the first apparition had been seen the phantasms began to speak. Nicolai's own friends began to appear in phantasmal shape and tried to console him in his troubles. His bodily health was now better than it had been for some time, and he enjoyed investigating his strange experiences.

Although Nicolai did not consider that his health was seriously affected, he still had faith in the efficacy of blood-letting by means of leeches, and thus in April 1791 his physician arrived to perform the operation. During the process the room seemed full of human forms, which jostled one another, and later in the day they began to move more slowly, and their colours began to fade, until finally they became white. By six o'clock that night they had all disappeared, and from that day Nicolai saw them no more. It is true that in later years he experienced the common sensation of catching a fleeting glance of something which in a moment had gone, but the full-form phantasms had left him never to return.

Nicolai's treatment of the whole affair is of considerable interest. Never

for a moment did he consider that his phantasms were spirits or objective. He was not filled with the childlike faith that Swedenborg possessed. The old religious teaching had faded out, and his normal business and home life was not conducive to a return to it. As he himself says, Swedenborg delighted in speculation and mystical theology, and he had formed a system for himself in which ghosts were necessary, and, moreover, it was his primary view to establish this system. Nicolai does not deny that Swedenborg may have seen phantasms and experienced visions. But he thinks that the Swede, by clinging to his system, actually created a series of images to conform with it.

It must have required some courage on the part of Nicolai to publish a candid account of his experiences. He had many enemies among the literary figures of his day, and Goethe was not slow to take advantage of Nicolai's lecture for the purpose of holding him up to ridicule. In the Walpurgis-Night he appears as "Proktophantasmist", the man who swept away the spirit delusion only to find that it always came back again.

Wie lange hab'ich nicht am Wahn hinausgekehrt,
Und nie wird's rein, das ist doch unerhört!

Even the medical measures of which he availed himself were brought up and laughed at through the mouth of Mephistopheles. "He'll sit down in a puddle; that's the way he gets relief," says the Devil, "and when the leeches have delighted themselves on his backside, then he is cured of spirits and of spirit." Certainly the choice of nickname for Nicolai was in bad taste, especially as he had the honesty and courage to publish the full facts of the case, both as regards the phenomena themselves and also the odd method of treatment to which he had submitted, but which finally appeared to have effected the cure for which it was prescribed. His case was exceedingly unusual, and the student of hallucinations will not forget the debt that is owed to him for bringing it to the notice of the medical world.

The first account that Nicolai gave of his hallucinatory experiences was on February 28, 1799, before the *Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* of Berlin. It was published in the issue of the *Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift* for May 1799, pp. 321 ff. (and see also June, pp. 470 ff., August, pp. 113 ff., October 1799, pp. 290 ff., November, pp. 322 ff., December, pp. 401 ff., etc.). In the same year appeared what seems to be a reprint of his lecture as a separate document. This is entitled *Beispiel einer Erscheinung mehrerer Phantasmen nebst einigen erläuternden Anmerkungen* (Berlin, 1799). It is apparent from what Nicolai himself says that he was not satisfied with the earlier account of his case which had been published in C. W. Hufeland's *Journal der practischen Arzneykunde und wundarzneykunst* and which will be found in the new edition of that journal published in Berlin in 1812, VI, 6es Stück, pp. 143–45, and entitled *Sonderbare Geistererscheinung.*

An English translation of the *Beispiel* appeared in *A Journal of Natural*

Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts (1803), VI, pp. 161 ff., with which *cf.* the same journal for 1806, XV, pp. 288 ff. Some discussion of Nicolai's paper by Engel and Göss was published by the *Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift* in May 1801, pp. 371–73, and in *A Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts* for 1803, VI, pp. 229–30.

If the cases of Swedenborg and Nicolai are compared and analysed it will at once be seen how completely different was the approach of the two percipients to their experiences. To the Swede the hallucinations and visions were due to the opening of his spiritual sight, and were to be taken more or less at their face value. To Nicolai they were due to some obscure mental or physical disturbance which was best treated by the application of leeches. Far from encouraging and developing them as did Tennhart and Swedenborg, Nicolai observed them with interest and curiosity, but he had not the slightest intention of misinterpreting what he saw. He could hardly have done otherwise. He had no passionate desire to find the soul and to penetrate the secrets beyond the veil. His early religious teaching had never the same profound effect upon him as had the instruction that Swedenborg had received in his father's bishopric. At the same time his scientific training had been patchy, and the psychological knowledge of his day was not sufficient for him to make any experiments which would have been of much value.

It was not till over a century later that a similar opportunity came to a scientific man, and even then it was not a psychologist who was favoured but a chemist. Perhaps some of my readers have already guessed that I am referring to Dr. Ludwig Staudenmaier.

Staudenmaier was born on February 14, 1865, in Krumbach, Bavaria. He had a good general education, and spent a year studying philosophy and three years theology, being a chaplain at Nördinglen in 1888. After completing these studies he turned his attention to science, specializing in chemistry and taking his doctorate in that subject in the University of Munich and becoming an assistant in the Mineralogical Institute there. He then became a professor in experimental chemistry in a lyceum at Freising, near Munich. He died in Rome on August 20, 1933.

It was not until he was thirty-six that his attention was directed towards occult subjects. One day a friend called on him and told him of some results he had had at some spiritualistic séances. Luminous figures had appeared, and Staudenmaier was asked if he were able to explain these from the point of view of the chemist.

When his friend had gone, Staudenmaier pondered over the story that he had heard and resolved that he would himself try a few experiments in automatic writing. Nothing much happened at first, but later he felt some odd sensations in his finger-tips, and the pencil he held in his hand began to move up and down on the paper and from left to right. Scrawls and wavy lines soon followed, but at that time there were no words or connected sentences. Staudenmaier was interested. He began to read the relevant literature,

and one day the pencil wrote a name: "Julie Norne". Now this name had recently become known to Staudenmaier as that by which a supposed spirit was called in one of the books he had been reading. So he mentally inquired if a spirit were present, and the question was answered in the affirmative. Various questions and answers followed, but all the information given was known to Staudenmaier.

Later experiments produced other "communicators", but again the names were those that Staudenmaier had previously read in books. Moreover, much of the material was trivial and stupid, although sexual elements began to appear.

The results hitherto obtained interested Staudenmaier, although he was not prepared for what was coming. One day he found that he was *hearing* the communications before they were written down. He had become what spiritualists call "clairaudient". This seemed to him an advance, but one result of his persistence was not foreseen. The voices came when they were not wanted: they came without sufficient grounds and they came against his will. Moreover, at times they were mocking, angry and malevolent.

A desperate struggle began to develop within himself, but, fascinated, he kept on with his experiments. Time and again the statements of the communicators were tested and proved to be lies. Attempts to obtain information unknown to Staudenmaier were failures; and when the communicators were reproached they retorted that they had to lie, since they were evil spirits. Sometimes again it seemed that the voices were echoes which became louder the more they were resisted. Staudenmaier tried to get the earlier communicators to return, but without avail. A kind of degeneration appeared to have set in. Endless new "spirits" appeared; and then a fresh development began. Just as in the first experiments Staudenmaier had felt a kind of tingling in his fingers, so now he began to feel queer sensations in his eyes. He began to experience illusions of vision. Ordinary objects were mistaken for others; and then some simple object became a kind of nucleus round which was built up fully formed hallucinations. The twigs of a tree formed fantastic shapes: even the clouds became centres for hallucinatory forms.

Gradually the visions increased in richness and complexity. One day a young lady came to see Staudenmaier. He was mildly interested in her but the impression she made soon faded when she left. Two days later, when he was in bed, lying on his left side and conversing with his voices, he suddenly turned over on his right side, and was astonished to see close to him the head of the young woman rising up out of the bed just as if she had been lying by him. The room was lighted only by the glimmer from a street lamp, but the head was clear, transparent and softly luminous. He was at first astounded, but soon realized the meaning of the vision, especially as just afterwards he heard a voice mockingly taunting him.

Other phenomena then began. Noises were heard in the room, and on one occasion it sounded as if the walls were being whisked by a feather broom.

Staudenmaier declared that this noise was heard also by his mother for the space of a full minute. Even during his work he was conscious of odd occurrences. For example, one day he was examining a coarse-grained substance of some kind when, to his great surprise and without any warning, it began to break up by itself into a number of smaller grains as if some force within the particles were causing disintegration.[1]

It is not clear from Staudenmaier's account if this appearance was due to hallucination or whether it was an example of some form of what is called telekinesis. There is no doubt that he made attempts to obtain movements of objects without contact and claims to have succeded, although I am very doubtful as to the reliability of his observations. Thus on one occasion he was experimenting with a delicately poised chemical balance beneath a glass shade, and declared that it moved, although the movement was in the opposite direction to that which he desired. When he exerted all his energy to correct this result, the hallucination of a grinning, long-nosed figure appeared sitting in the balance.

As was the case with nearly all visionaries, the devils were not lacking among the figures seen by Staudenmaier. Many of them appeared, and on one striking occasion the seer experienced the clearly defined sensation of a chain being fastened round his neck. The smell of sulphur was also apparent and a voice proclaimed that its owner was the Devil, that he had Staudenmaier as a prisoner, and that he would never let him go.

By this time Staudenmaier's general health began to be affected. His medical advisers were anxious about him and prescribed a course of hunting and outdoor sports. The hallucinations, however, persisted. Curious figures were outlined in the trees, and mocking forms with long, thick noses glared at him. Just as in the case of Swedenborg and Cardano, frogs and toads were seen crawling upon the ground, and all kinds of composite animals and diabolic forms appeared. The branches of the trees took on strange forms; and sometimes the figures of girls were to be seen everywhere both in the trees and even in the clouds.

Apart from the visual phenomena, other manifestations occurred. There were blows on the window, the walls and the floor. There were scratchings and crackings, and it seemed that the phenomena that we associate with hauntings and poltergeists were also commencing. Half a roll which was lying on the table was hurled to the ground; green branches fell off a tree when no one was touching it. Black clouds slowly formed themselves around Staudenmaier and then were turned into the shapes of diabolical creatures. The more he tried to resist, the angrier became the forms which danced and scuttled around him. He began to realize that he was possessed.

One of the most important and curious of his experiences was the growth

[1] For this substance see Staudenmaier's "Untersuchungen über den Graphit" in the *Berichte d. deut. chem. Gesell.*, 1899, Jahrg. 32, III, 2824–2834 and cf. *Chem. Central-Blatt*, 1899, nr. 25, II, 1041.

of personifications of his own desires and wishes. Ideas of superiority were symbolized by the growth of a personality suggesting royal or princely affiliations. The wish to return to childhood was satisfied by the appearance of an infantile personification. Bodily changes now became noticeable. Contractions of the muscles occurred, and, like Swedenborg, Staudenmaier experienced the so-called internal respiration. His life became one long series of hallucinatory experiences, although it had nothing of the calm course which accompanied the orderly progression associated with the visions of the Swedish seer.

Although Staudenmaier had done his best to make himself acquainted with the relevant literature, he was not sufficiently expert either in general psychology or in psychical research to devise experiments which would have been conclusive on the question as to whether his experiences were at all times subjective, or whether there were occasions when the forms seen and the noises heard had something objective about them. This can be clearly seen in his accounts of his attempted tests in cases of movements without alleged contact, in the photography of visual hallucinations, and in the production of materializations.

If we compare the hallucinatory experiences of Staudenmaier with those of Tennhart, Engelbrecht or Swedenborg it will be seen how the visions were conditioned by the education and psychological make-up of the men who had them. Staudenmaier was not particularly religious, although his three years at theology had given him plenty of material out of which many of his diabolical visions were fashioned. Like so many modern minds, his was in a state of constant conflict; and the resolution of that conflict in the Swedenborgian manner was unthinkable in the twentieth century. Yet how easily Staudenmaier slipped into the belief that this ever-changing phantasmagoria could not be entirely within himself, and that sometimes it ought to be possible to prove experimentally a momentary objective existence for perhaps one figure or one noise.

The reader must judge from the pages of Staudenmaier's book whether or no he succeeded in his quest. Were we to suppose that he did, then I think that we should have to assume that what was photographed or recorded was not in any sense an example of Staudenmaier's hallucinations, but a new phenomenon altogether, which it is not the purpose of the present appendix to discuss. It may be true that such phenomena actually occur, and that their production is associated, with people like Tennhart and Engelbrecht, Swedenborg and Staudenmaier. Records of such occurrences abound in the lives of the Saints and are not wanting in the lives of non-Christian mystics such as Al-Ḥallâj, whose apports of food are some of the most remarkable ever recorded.

Before passing on to the fourth of the group of hallucinated persons to which this appendix is devoted, the student may care to know something of the scanty literature connected with Staudenmaier.

The first indication of Staudenmaier's interest in what was to be his most curious study was his paper "Versuche zur Begründung einer wissenschaftlichen Experimentalmagie", which was published in the *Annalen d. Naturphilosophie* (1910), IX, pp. 329–67. Two years later this paper was expanded and issued in book form under the title of *Die Magie als experimentelle Naturwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1912), new impressions being issued in 1918 and 1920. In 1922 a second and improved edition was published in Leipzig, in which the author replied to some of his critics. These ranged from reviews in the more serious psychological and chemical journals to articles in the popular occult magazines and literary papers.

I append herewith a list of some of these if the reader would like to see how Staudenmaier's experiments were treated by contemporary writers and psychologists.

I. Psychological Journals. *Allg. Zt. für Psychiatrie*, 1914, 769: *Zt. für d. ges. Neurol. u. Psychiatrie*, 1913, VI, 899: *Archiv für d. ges. Psychol.*, 1915, XXXIII, 130–131: *Zentralbl. f. Psychoanalyse*, 1913, 253–255: *Imago*, 1913, II, 447 ff.

II. Medical and Philosophical Journals. *Philos. Jahrb. d. Görres Gesellschaft*, 1913, XXVI, 97–101: *Archiv. für syst. Philos.*, 1913, N.F., XIX, 401–407: *Mitt. d. Geschichte d. Med. u. Naturwiss.*, 1913, XIII, 195: *Die Naturwissenschaften*, 1913, 150: *Deut. med. Wochenschr.*, 1913, J. 39, 1424.

III. Chemical, Occult and Miscellaneous. *Chemikerzeitung*, 1913, J. 37, 627: *Zt. für öffentl. Chemie*, 1912, 460: *Psychische Studien*, 1912, 588–591; 692–693; 1923, 118–119: *Die Übersinnliche Welt*, 1913, 88–95; 121–134: *Zentralbl. für Okkultismus*, 1912, 561–570; 639–646: *Journal* of the American Society for Psychical Research, 1927, XXI, 193–201: *Der Fels*, 1913, 7–15; 46–52; 66–73: *Janus* (München), 1913, 458–460: *Kirchenzeitung für Deutschland*, 1914,246–247: *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, August 30, 1913, 568: *Die Christliche Welt*, 1916, 311: *Bayr. Zt. für Realschulwes.*, 1913, 77: *Zt. für Bücherfreunde*, 1922, N.F., XIV (*J. Beib.*, 282): *Bücherwurm*, 1912, 314–315: *Prometheus*, 1913, J. 24, 144: *Der Querschnitt*, 1932, XIII, 904.

The appearance of the book created little interest in the English-speaking countries either in 1912 or in 1922. It was never noticed at length, and the Society for Psychical Research did not review it either in its *Journal* or *Proceedings*. But in the Society's *Proceedings* for July 1914 it did print a paper on another example of a person experimenting with his own hallucinations, and it is this case which we must now consider, a story which is now generally known to students as "the case of Mr. Grünbaum".

The name of "Mr. Grünbaum" conceals the identity of a serious and well-educated Dutchman, who was persuaded to describe his experiences to officials of the (British) Society for Psychical Research in order that some account of them might be put on permanent record. It is thus that we are unable in this place to give any details of his early life and education, but this is not very important from the point of view from which it is proposed to examine Mr. Grünbaum's visions. It will be sufficient here to describe the genesis and development of his hallucinations, and to see how they may be compared with

those of Nicolai and Staudenmaier, and what lessons can be learnt from them when we consider them side by side with those of Swedenborg.

In the year 1911 Grünbaum suffered from a nervous breakdown of some kind, and he determined to try to treat himself by means of self-induced hypnotic suggestion. As a start he sat down at the table with a piece of plain white paper in front of him. Having taken a mild soporific to make him drowsy, he suggested to himself that when he awoke he would see a black line on the white sheet. The drug soon took effect, and then he saw a highly decorative black line on the paper. At the same time an interior voice said that the effect was due to the experiment that he was making. But try as he would the line was never straight: it was always full of loops and curves. So Mr. Grünbaum tried something else.

This time it was a young lady, not the drawing of one, but in the life as it were. After the usual suggestions and some twenty minutes of waiting, Grünbaum became aware of a kind of whirlpool forming near him in which there were flames and fiery spangles just like those seen by Engelbrecht and Swedenborg. Then a shape began to be seen, and soon there was clearly visible a smiling, friendly-looking lady, holding up her dress and seeming to be travelling towards him at great speed. But at the moment when she was about a foot away and it was really getting exciting she vanished.

One of the next experiments that Grünbaum tried was in relation to sounds. He suggested that he should hear his name called and that he should be touched. Both suggestions were successful. In the one case he heard his name called out about a quarter of an hour after the suggestion had been given; in the other his coat was pulled, and he had the sensation as if a hand was laid upon his own.

Some of Grünbaum's personifications were very curious, and can be compared with those of Staudenmaier. One day he saw forming before his eyes a large disc some four feet in diameter. In the disc a charming young lady was seated. Grünbaum asked who she was, to which she replied that she was his "Self-Control", as pretty a personification as might well be imagined. The delightful apparition now began to make a move as if she were about to step out from the disc. A beautifully finished silk stocking began to appear over the edge, and Grünbaum began to think that the vision had gone far enough. He had a momentary feeling of fear, which was reflected in the face of the strange phantom, which immediately vanished.

On another occasion Grünbaum had a vision of a stiff brown arm and a hand of wooden appearance which made its appearance in association with a flower just as did the hand which Swedenborg saw in one of his hallucinations (see p. 27). Again, many of his visions were closely connected with his own desires and wishes, but often contained additional ingredients which make them an interesting study for the psychoanalyst. For example, he once asked his little Miss Self-Control to show him a pure snow-covered landscape. As a result all he got was a vision of a friend in a canoe which capsized. Then

Grünbaum remembered that he was discussing the canoe accident that very morning, that it took place on the River Rhine and that the word for *pure* in Dutch is *rein*.

As is the case with nearly all visionaries, Mr. Grünbaum was favoured by a visit from the Devil, but how different he was from the imaginative specimens conjured up by the heated brains of our earlier examples! In the present case his face was visible in the centre of a medallion some two feet in diameter, around which flames were dancing up and down in vigorous fashion. His face was well defined, and its shrewd and cunning expression much attracted Grünbaum. The end of it was that he pointed to Heaven with his staff and then disappeared.

As we have already said, there were other phenomena besides the visions. Just as Staudenmaier tried to do a little later, so did Grünbaum attempt some experiments with a view to testing the objectivity of some of his experiences. One day when in bed it seemed that he was seized by two big hands which began to squeeze him. They felt as if they were encased in thick gloves lined in cotton-wool. In spite of this, however, Grünbaum was raised up, had his head bumped against the wall and was then nearly thrown out of bed. It was a sensation that both Engelbrecht and Swedenborg had described (see p. 19), but it was left for Mr. Grünbaum to say, "It may have been my own muscles doing that." He was much intrigued by what was happening to him, and the extraordinary sensations that he had.

One night when he was feeling more than the usual amount of buffetings it seemed to him that champagne was flowing all through his body; and then he felt the bed begin to dance up and down, although a test showed that it was not in reality doing anything of the sort. Then a big hand appeared, about one and a half feet long, slowly coming towards him. At last he was able to get hold of it, and then there came a head and shoulders, trembling and vibrating just as if the whole apparition was formed out of cigar smoke. A little later the figure became more solid and asked Grünbaum to feel its shoulders, which he did; they felt like cardboard, and he said so.

During the next few days a phantasmal pandemonium broke out. Objects of all kinds seemed to fall around him: there was the sound of loud blows as if rocks were being hammered. In order to get some proof of the objective nature of these hallucinations Grünbaum prepared a glass plate covered with lamp-black and fastened it by the side of his bed. Next morning he examined the plate. It had been smeared, but examination showed that the operation had been executed by himself. So he devised a better test. This time he put the glass plate in a box, the cover of which was furnished with a small hole. Then he put the box under his pillow and asked Miss Self-Control to write on the plate. Almost at once he heard a sound. There was fumbling on the pillow and the sounds of writing, followed by a tap as if a full stop were being added. Then silence. "Now we shall have what we want," thought Mr. Grünbaum. He got out of bed, steadied himself, drank a glass of water, and opened the

box. The plate was untouched. There was not a mark on the blackened surface. The experiment had failed.

On medical advice Mr. Grünbaum consented to have treatment, although it did not take the form of that to which Nicolai submitted. Very soon his health improved and the hallucinations subsided. But it was not long before his curiosity got the better of him and he started again to make his experiments. At first he could only induce the visual hallucinations, but later his power to induce the more realistic forms returned. One example will suffice. It contains elements which all students will recognize as having been experienced by other visionaries. At three in the morning Grünbaum awoke. After about fifteen minutes he heard the rattling of an iron chain just behind the bed. Then four heavy footsteps sounded, just as if an iron statue had taken to walk, an auditory hallucination reminding us of that of the man in the iron clogs experienced by St. Joseph of Copertino.[1] Then there began to form a horrible tall figure with a transparent black veil over its upper part. But Mr. Grünbaum had had enough. He forced himself to withdraw from his self-induced trance and there we must leave him. His case is of exceptional interest and clearly illustrates the same psychological mechanisms as we have seen at work in Swedenborg, Engelbrecht, Tennhart, Nicolai and Staudenmaier. In each case the basic factors in the production of the hallucinations are the same. What differs is the form that the hallucinations take; and this form is conditioned by the life and experience of the seer, and by the way he treats the visions and sounds which he sees and hears. The religious visionaries interpret their experiences through their own ideas of God, the Devil and the spiritual world. The sceptics prefer to think that the secret of the production of their hallucinations lies within themselves, and thus we find Nicolai, Staudenmaier and Grünbaum devising experiments and objective tests.

What makes the case of Swedenborg almost unique is the way in which he was able to develop his vast hallucinatory system into one fairly well-co-ordinated whole. There is some evidence, I think, that Swedenborg experienced certain forms of hallucination of which he has left us no description. However that may be, we are not likely to see another visionary like him. It is not often that so many factors are to be found in one person who is able to combine them and fashion them into one amazing system which, in the case of Swedenborg, still has its sincere and faithful adherents in the ranks of the New Church.

[1] See my *Some Human Oddities*, p. 23.

II. Johann Jetzer

DECEIVER OR DECEIVED?

IN THE canton of Argovie (Aargau) in Switzerland and a few miles north-east of Aarau lies the little village of Zurzach, in the church of which is St. Verona's tomb that many pilgrims used to visit in days gone by. Few of those who visited the resting-place of the wandering saint or attended the crowded cattle fairs in the market knew much, if anything, of another strange figure, Johann Jetzer by name, who first saw the light in this obscure village where his father, Hanns, was a poor farmer.

Johann was born in the closing years of the fifteenth century, and his parents, who were simple Christian people, had the child duly baptized as a member of the Holy Catholic Church. His education was of the poorest: he hardly knew his letters, but there was apparently developing within him a strong inclination towards the religious life. Apart from his yearning towards religion his interests did not coincide with those of his father. Agricultural pursuits failed to attract him, and from the little that we know of his early life it seems that rough tailoring was the only activity in which he could be considered even partially successful.

Towards the end of the year 1506, when Jetzer was about twenty-three years old, he determined to take the first step towards fulfilling his religious aspirations. Presenting himself at the Dominican friary at Berne, he applied for admission as a lay brother. At the time of his application the friary had one Johann Vatter as its Prior and Franz Ueltschi as Subprior, whilst Stephan Boltzhurst acted as Lector and Heinrich Steinegger was Procurator.

At first there seemed some doubt in the minds of the authorities at the friary whether Jetzer's application should be favourably considered; and some chroniclers report that what may have partly decided the matter was the fact that Jetzer brought with him a sum of fifty-three gulden in gold for the Prior, some jewels, a scarlet cap, some pieces of damask, an embroidered shirt and other gifts which he had got together through his own work and the money that he had himself saved.[1]

On his entrance into the friary Jetzer immediately became noted for his extreme piety and religious devotion, and awaited his formal profession with impatience. But the calm of his days was soon disturbed by some extraordinary events. Remarkable nocturnal phenomena were reported from that

[1] See R. Steck, *Die Akten des Jetzerprozesses* (Basel, 1904), pp. 185, 451, 464 and cf. M. Stettler, *Schweitzer Chronic* (Bern [*c.* 1631]), I, p. 390.

part of the building where Jetzer had been quartered. According to his own account, a spectre, clothed in a brother's habit, had appeared in his room, hovering over his bed and pulling the bedclothes off him, an occurrence which had much frightened him. Speaking in a hoarse voice, the spectre declared that he was suffering on account of his sins; and Jetzer noticed with interest that both the face and hands of the phantom were black.

Two or three little dogs occasionally accompanied the spectre during his visits to Jetzer's cell; and these were said to be demons in canine disguise which used to come in and go out through the window. During the day the apparition was not visible, but its presence was manifested by bangings and knockings which were sometimes heard even in the seclusion of the quiet library.

The attitude of the authorities seems at first to have been somewhat confused. They were well aware that such phenomena were constantly to be noted in ecclesiastical records as occurring in the presence of men and women of exceptional sanctity and devotion, and it appears that they inclined to the view that this might be the explanation in the case of Jetzer. His admission to the Order therefore was not delayed, and in 1507 he made his profession.

His reception, however, did not seem to make any difference to the phenomena which tormented him. The manifestations grew ever more troublesome, and the bangs, raps and knocks disturbed the whole friary. Steinegger, therefore, who occupied the cell next to Jetzer, arranged a small bell attached to a cord which led to a point near Jetzer's bed so that the latter could ring if he became frightened. The spectre, however, was not deterred by this device. He again visited Jetzer, and when Steinegger came hurrying in, the friar found the victim in a state of terror with his tunic soaked in sweat and saying that the phantom had again been in his cell pulling at his bedclothes, and that this time it seemed as if the figure was bathed in flames. Demanding prayers to be offered for his soul, the apparition even went so far as to ask for eight Masses to be said on his behalf in St. John's chapel.

The Dominican authorities found themselves at a total loss to know how to act. Doubtless wishing to do nothing which might increase the misery of the tormented spirit, they determined to try to help it, and so they arranged that the Blessed Sacrament and some pieces of the True Cross should be placed in the cells adjoining the one that Jetzer occupied. The same evening the phantom appeared, accompanied by demons, and pandemonium broke out. A huge stone fell crashing on the floor of the friary, and doors kept opening and shutting as if manipulated by invisible hands. Finally the disturbances died down, and the spectre, addressing himself to Jetzer, declared that he was no other than the spirit of one Heinrich Kalpurg, a former Prior of the friary who had officiated there one hundred and sixty years previously but who, on account of poor management, had had to leave the establishment. From Berne, Kalpurg had gone to Paris, where he had fallen into evil company, and had finally been murdered, after which he had been

thrown into Purgatory, where he remained until the time when God had permitted him to return to his old friary in order to try to get help.

To prove the truth of his statements regarding the torments that he was suffering he allowed the terrified Jetzer to catch a glimpse of his face, which seemed to be surrounded with a ring of horrible crawling worms which, he said, were really demons in this unusual and loathsome disguise. Both his nose and ears had been cut off when he had been murdered, and thus his appearance was sufficient to inspire both horror and disgust in any of those who were unfortunate enough to set eyes on him, as, for example, Friar Bernhart Karrer and Oswald, a lay brother, who also saw him and Jetzer together. In order to ease his sufferings he not only demanded that Masses be said but also that Jetzer should scourge himself until the blood flowed and should lie on the ground with arms and legs outstretched in the shape of a cross. Moreover each lay brother must, at the appropriate times, recite various psalms, verses and sacred texts.

On taking his leave the phantom touched Jetzer's hand, but hardly had he done so when Jetzer felt a terrible pain in his middle finger, which was said to bear the marks of the encounter for a long time. Thereupon the spirit vanished from the room with a horrible noise.

When the spectre had gone the friars came running in to hear what had happened. Jetzer informed them of all that had occurred and told them what were the demands of the spirit, and then they discussed the next steps that had to be taken. Much of what Jetzer had to tell them was, it seems, confirmed by some of the friars, who, during Jetzer's conversations with the spirit, were hiding behind the door of his cell and occasionally, perhaps, peeping through a crack.

Week by week the interviews between Jetzer and the spectre continued, and each time that the latter appeared his arrival was heralded by knocks, the falling of a stone, or the movement of some object apparently without normal contact.

One day, however, the apparition arrived in an altogether new form. Arrayed in sacerdotal robes, with the white alb and red stole of a priest, the spectre no longer showed a noseless face surrounded by worms. His countenance was now fresh and his demeanour gracious; and as he advanced towards Jetzer's bed he began a long speech in which he declared that he had at last been delivered from his misery through the good offices of the brothers, and that he had been raised up by the angels who had transported him to the seventh choir, where he had experienced the most extreme bliss. Finally he mentioned the question of the conception of the Blessed Virgin and then he disappeared.

Before continuing the story of Jetzer and the marvellous phenomena that occurred in his presence, a word must now be said on the subject of the Immaculate Conception, a controversy which is closely connected with the events in the mysterious friary at Berne.

According to the modern teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, the Virgin Mary from the first instant of her conception was preserved from any stain of original sin. The idea has a long history behind it, and it seems that before the twelfth century the notion that the Blessed Virgin was thus exempted was not held by any of those accustomed to argue and dispute about such matters. The original Feast of the Conception of Mary was centred on the story of Mary's mother, Anna, who for many years was barren but who later conceived in somewhat peculiar circumstances. From the idea that the conception was not due to any part played by Anna's husband, the theory developed that it was miraculous, and then the doctrine was laid down that Mary herself was exempt from original sin.

Controversy raged around these abstruse problems as the centuries rolled by. The famous Franciscan, Duns Scotus (†1308), held the idea of some form of immaculate conception, and he was followed by the Franciscans, who regarded him with veneration. Although the Dominicans resisted this teaching with tenacity and vehemence, the notion gradually gained favour among the people, and in 1854 Pope Pius IX promulgated a Bull in which the whole question was restated and was declared one to be firmly believed by the faithful.

The story that Jetzer's spiritual visitor had mentioned the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary aroused great interest in the friary and the news was greeted with a buzz of excited comment. Here indeed was a piece of luck, for if a spirit who had now been received into bliss did not know all the answers, who did? He must be forthwith consulted; and Jetzer was instructed to ask a few questions should the apparition again pay him a visit.

In due course the spectre again appeared and gave it as his opinion that the Immaculate Conception was true, but added that on the following Friday Jetzer would be favoured by the appearance of another phantom. This story of Jetzer's conversation aroused the friars to a state of fevered expectation, for the opinion of the phantom regarding the conception was not at all to their liking, if what had been said was true and not misunderstood by their informant.[1] Preparations were accordingly made and two or three holes were drilled through the walls of Jetzer's room in order, perhaps, to facilitate visual investigation of what might happen during the spectre's visit, or maybe, as we shall see later, for other reasons.

On the Friday evening, towards ten or eleven o'clock, an apparition, clothed in a white robe, came to Jetzer's cell and revealed itself as a charming young woman, with fair hair flowing over her shoulders. She told him that she was no other than St. Barbara, who in days gone by had once saved him from drowning when he was living in Zurzach. Seeing a letter which contained a questionnaire previously prepared by the Lector, Boltzhurst, she

[1] For a discussion of the differences between Jetzer's statements regarding the Immaculate Conception see N. Paulus, "Ein Justizmord an vier Dominikanern begangen" (*Frankf. zeitgemässe Broschüren*, N.F., XVIII, Frankfurt a. M., 1897, pp. 75, 78 and cf. V. Anshelm, *Berner Chronik* (Bern, 1884-1901), III, p. 130.

took it up and said that she would herself deliver it into the hands of the Virgin Mary. Thereupon she left Jetzer's room, and went into the chancel of the chapel, where she laid the letter before the Blessed Sacrament and sealed it with five drops of blood and where it was subsequently found, for suddenly all the candles in the chapel became lighted as if by a miracle.

Something even more wonderful, however, was to follow. Jetzer was to receive a visit from the Blessed Virgin Mary herself. She was about to appear before him in person, and doubtless one result of her visit would be to decide the controversy once and for all which was always raging around the question of her Immaculate Conception. Nobody knew exactly when she would come, so Jetzer remained in his cell whilst the friars continued in the ordinary routine of the house.

One day Jetzer suddenly saw appear in his cell the figure of a woman, clothed in white and wearing a long cloak which trailed behind her on the ground, whilst a veil covered half her face and arms. Three other figures accompanied the apparition, of which one was again St. Barbara, whilst the other two were apparently angels. These angels were somewhat peculiar. They did not seem to Jetzer to be much bigger than children of about three years of age, and they were dressed in what looked like white linen with a touch of red. Both had wings like those with which angels are often depicted, and these wings were golden or yellow in colour, but sometimes shimmered with a variety of hues.

The Blessed Virgin approached Jetzer's bed and told him not to be afraid because she was Mary, the Mother of Jesus, and had been sent by Him to fulfil the promise that had been made. The glory of being conceived without sin, she said, belonged to Jesus alone; and thus she was dishonoured rather than honoured by the false doctrine which had been spread by the Franciscans, since the idea tended to diminish the glory due to her Son. She then went on to assure Jetzer that her conception had been due to entirely normal causes; and then she gave him two seals which had been connected with the swaddling clothes of the Infant Jesus; and on each seal there was marked a cross traced by His Blood and which had been preserved by His Mother, and then some more drops of blood were also allowed to fall on the seals. Finally Jetzer was instructed to keep the revelation secret from all but his confessor and his three associates, so that they might send one of the seals and an account of the incident to Rome to be presented to the Pope. Thus the falsity of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception might be established and the followers of Scotus might be finally exposed.

Before disappearing, the apparition told Jetzer to hold out his hand, which she suddenly seized, and pressing it against part of his bed, she pierced it with a piece of metal; this made Jetzer cry out in pain and surprise, for he did not realize, perhaps, that he was being impressed with the emblems of Christ's Passion.

On hearing Jetzer's cry the Subprior came running into his cell to find

out what had happened. At first Jetzer protested that there was nothing amiss, but after a candle had been lighted the Subprior saw blood on the ground, and became so insistent that Jetzer confessed, and showed his wounded hand, which was thereupon bound up after having been anointed with what was said to be a soothing salve. The other leading authorities were then called in, and after having venerated the precious Blood upon the seals, these were put into a little box and taken away to the sacristy.

The coming of the Virgin Mary in person to Jetzer created a sensation. Exclusive privileges were bestowed upon the holy man, and a special cell was arranged so that it might be possible to observe who came in and went out. The occurrences were then recorded in writing so that eventually a full account of the whole story might be transmitted to the higher ecclesiastical authorities.

On Palm Sunday 1507 the Blessed Virgin again appeared to Jetzer. She confirmed all that she had previously said about her conception and the falsity of the doctrine which proclaimed its immaculate nature. Then she disappeared after saying that it was not her last visit but that she would again appear and that in the meantime Jetzer should inform his superiors of everything that had occurred.

The affair had now reached a stage when the Dominican authorities thought that they had better obtain advice from elsewhere. The Subprior, therefore, went to Ulm to see a Prior there, and the latter advised great caution, saying that shortly a convocation was to be held at Pforzheim on April 20, 1507, and that the whole matter could be considered during the meeting.

In the meantime the Virgin had again appeared, and two worthy citizens of Berne, Martin Franke, a goldsmith, and Lucas, a glazier, prevailed upon the authorities to let them into the friary so that they could see or hear the phantom with their own eyes or ears. Their patience was rewarded, for suddenly, after they had obtained admission, all the lights went out, the voice of the Virgin was heard conversing with Jetzer and then, after the lamps had been mysteriously relighted, nothing was found to account for the visitation.

After Easter, or to be more precise on April 11, 1507, Dr. Wernher von Selden, the Prior of the friary at Basel, came to Berne. Carefully contrived arrangements were made. The Blessed Sacrament was brought in and placed on a table in Jetzer's cell together with a tract written by Wernher against another book by one Bernadinus de Bustis, a Franciscan who supported the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[1] Jetzer was instructed to ask the Virgin, should she again appear, to worship the Blessed Sacrament and remove it to the tabernacle, and, moreover, to tear up the tract which proclaimed the Immaculate Conception as a proof of her identity.

In due course the phantom again visited Jetzer and performed all the actions which had been proposed. But even then the authorities were not

[1] Evidently referring to the *Mariale*, which first appeared in Strasburg in 1492 (see Hain-Copinger, 4158, and *Gesamtkatalog*, V, 699, etc.).

satisfied. They suggested to Jetzer that, at the next appearance, he should ask the figure the direct question as to whether it was a good or an evil spirit, and then ask it to repeat such sacred texts as the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Accordingly, this was done, and the Virgin passed all the tests with great ceremony, for this time she came in pomp bringing some solid wax candles from Heaven, which she left behind on Jetzer's table.

Even then, however, the tests were not complete. Thinking that if the spirit were evil it would probably object to being spat at and thus reveal its true nature, they planned to get Jetzer to spit in the face of the apparition and see what happened. The result was not unexpected. The Virgin told Jetzer that it was the duty of men to try the spirits whether they be of God, and hence by his test he had in no sense sinned against the truth.

The next time that the Virgin Mary appeared an extraordinary scene was enacted. It had been arranged with Jetzer that, if the apparition should again visit him, he was to entreat it to declare its true identity, and for this purpose to indicate the Blessed Sacrament and carry it to the tabernacle. In due course, when Jetzer was lying in his bed in his cell, the Virgin again appeared, sprinkled some holy water on Jetzer and placed two candles on the table on which rested the holy Sacrament. To Jetzer's astonishment he then saw the phantom, accompanied by two angels, suspended in space over the table. Taking the wafer from the pyx, she held it up saying that it was about to be transformed into the true flesh of her Son, and then dropped it on the table, where, to Jetzer's stupefaction, it lay, but was now red in colour!

Leaping from his bed and forgetting the awe and fear which had filled him on earlier occasions, he rushed forward and seized the apparition's hand, out of which dropped a second Host—the white one! The lights went out, but not before Jetzer, according to his later deposition,[1] had made an astonishing discovery. The phantoms were not the unsubstantial and heavenly beings that he had supposed. They were very human and very solid, and their disguises, trappings and apparatus for producing magical effects were solid and earthly also.[2] But who were these strange actors in so blasphemous a masquerade?

According to Jetzer the Virgin was no other than the Lector, Stephan Boltzhurst, and the two angels the Prior and the Subprior of the friary, although on the former occasion (were the phenomena also fraudulent) the angels were so small that they might not have been human beings at all.[3] Rushing to the door, he found Dr. Wernher, the visiting Prior from Basel, standing outside; and he at once begged him to come in to see what was happening, but for some reason or other he refused Jetzer's request.[4]

[1] See *Die Akten*, etc., pp. 106 ff., 268, 308.

[2] G. Rettig in his "Die Urkunden des Jetzerprozesses" (*Archiv d. hist. Ver. d. Kantons Bern*, 1884, XI (1886), p. 186) regards this story of elaborate apparatus for producing levitation effects as obviously untrue, since such machinery would be too difficult to fit up. I am not in agreement with him. Cf. *Akten*, pp. 269, 283, 308.

[3] Cf. *Die Akten*, pp. 434, 465.

[4] *Sed, dictus magister intrare noluit.* Cf. *Akten*, p. 243.

Returning to his cell, Jetzer found the friars removing their apparatus and disguises, and whilst doing so they assured him that the performance had been carried out with the most pious intent, as he would soon perceive were he patiently to listen to the explanation.

Next morning the leading authorities visited Jetzer and tried to reason with him, explaining that the whole affair was in the nature of a test to see if he were capable of distinguishing the false from the true, and that by his conduct he had abundantly justified their faith in him.

It seems that little by little Jetzer was persuaded that perhaps, after all, there was something in what he had been told, and so we find that in due course the apparition of the Virgin Mary again visited him in his cell. She made haste to assure him that the holy fathers were perfectly innocent, and that their action, however suspicious it might have seemed, was in order to test his sincerity and powers of observation. She then reminded him that he was to receive the symbolic wounds of the Passion, and thereupon pierced one of his hands, his feet and his right side. Having sprinkled him with holy water, she departed and all the candles became suddenly alight and the bells began to ring apparently without the intervention of any human agency. Hearing Jetzer's groans, the fathers came running in, and seeing his wounds, bound them up and anointed them, whilst rejoicing in the miracle.

The appearance of the stigmata on the body of Jetzer, however they may have been contrived, may have suggested the course of further development of the amazing phenomena at Berne. For Jetzer, thrown into a queer psychopathological condition, and perhaps under the influence of some drug, began to simulate in a dramatic form the Passion of the Saviour. He trembled, ground his teeth, became cataleptic, adopted strange contortions and twisted his limbs into grotesque shapes. These demonstrations took place in a special room prepared for the occasion, and sometimes in the presence not only of the Dominicans but of other privileged spectators.

The affair at the friary had now reached a point where concealment was no longer possible. Rumour was busy and news of the miraculous events began to leak out, and naturally lost nothing in the telling. The Prior and the Lector returned from the convocation at Pforzheim; and then some other ecclesiastical authorities visited Berne to make a personal investigation and to interview Jetzer. The latter apparently told them what had occurred when he declared that he had caught hold of the supposed phantom, and this story had the effect of increasing the suspicion that had already been awakened by the rumours that were being circulated about the miracles in the friary.

On questioning the fathers the investigators were, it seems, convinced by their sincerity, and instructed Jetzer to be obedient to them. One of those attending the meeting at Pforzheim, Lorenz Aufkirchen by name, was clearly not satisfied, but to avoid scandal those supporting the Dominicans decided to close the affair by a drastic step.

How far the details of the plan conform to the facts we shall never know.

As we shall see later, the whole affair is so hopelessly tangled that a clear judgment is impossible. Be that as it may, the plan, as reported by certain chroniclers, was to poison Jetzer, and thus get out of the way the single witness who was likely to prove the most troublesome.

According to Jetzer's own account, it appears that on one occasion the Prior and others came to his cell, the Subprior carrying some metal dishes and wooden trenchers, and asked him to join them in a common meal. With them came a novice, Rudolf Noll, who was carrying two plates containing a soup or broth of some kind. On beginning the meal Jetzer noticed that pieces of bread, which he had dipped into his soup, took on a greenish hue, which aroused his suspicions. Doubt also seems to have entered Noll's mind; and later some of the food was thrown to five young wolf-cubs which were living in the grounds of the friary, and which, after they had devoured the morsels, suddenly expired.

Having seen the result of the experiment, Jetzer immediately drew the attention of the Subprior to the incident, and the latter said that his suspicions were unfounded and that the wolves died for the simple reason that they could not eat or properly digest the aromatic spices with which the soup was flavoured, an explanation which seems to have satisfied Jetzer for the time being.

The day of the apparitions, however, was not yet over. One night the phantoms of the Virgin Mary and St. Cecilia entered Jetzer's cell in order to dress his wounds, but Jetzer, according to the story which he told at the subsequent trial at Berne, recognized the hand of the Subprior, which he seized and held firmly, telling them that they were "swindlers and deceivers",[1] to which they replied that again it was an experiment to test his sincerity and good faith.

Meanwhile the ecclesiastical authorities outside the friary had not been altogether idle. Jetzer had complained, but the case was so difficult to decide and contained so much theological dynamite that delay followed delay, since the investigators obviously thought that the scandal which might follow too close an inquiry might have an effect that would be felt far beyond the walls of the haunted cloister. Moreover, if it were assumed that the Prior and his associates were engaged in an elaborate mystification, then they would hardly cease their operations until their aims were achieved.

The next phenomenon which excited the attention of those following the events in the friary was the alleged weeping of tears of blood by an image of Our Lady, an occurrence which was apparently investigated by one Johann Fries, a painter from Freiburg, who failed to discover any evidence of artifice or deceit. Other phenomena then began to accompany the tears. By the light of two big candles the image of the Virgin and the Saviour began to talk to each other in audible voices. What they said was interesting in view of the Dominican thesis against the idea of the Immaculate Conception.

[1] *Trufatores et deceptores*. See *Die Akten*, pp. 114, 245; and cf. *ib.*, p. xxiii.

Addressing His Mother, Jesus expostulated with her, asking her why she thus wept. "My Son," she replied, "why should I not weep when the honour due to Thee alone is bestowed upon me?" Nothing, surely, could be more explicit than that.[1]

Jetzer seems to have been convinced by these proofs of the divine favour. He was so overcome that he knelt before the image, and actually heard muffled sighs and the noise of what sounded like breathing.

It was not only that Jetzer was the centre of miraculous events. His dramatic presentation of the Passion (however histrionic and even melodramatic it may have been) excited immense interest outside the friary, and one day the fathers invited certain notable citizens of Berne to see what was going on. These included such distinguished local notables as Rudolf von Erlach, who had been some four times a magistrate, Wilhelm von Diesbach, another legal authority, Rudolf Huber, a city councillor, and Lienhard Hübschi, about whom little appears to be known. Hardly had the visitors entered the friary when stories of the later miracles were poured into their ears; and then they were permitted to see Jetzer lying in the form of a cross before the altar, and finally they saw him simulate the story of the Passion in a series of symbolic movements.

A few people, however, were not so easily convinced, and suspicions began to make themselves more and more audible. One bold priest, Johann Tessenmacher, actually climbed up to have a closer look at the marvellous weeping image, and his verdict was distinctly adverse, for he openly said that it was fraudulent, and that the tears were mere blobs of paint, a discovery which pleased him not at all and the fathers of the friary still less. Indeed, so angry were they that they gave vent to their wrath in threats, the Prior saying that if he had caught him standing on the altar to investigate he would have given him a few dents with a bundle of keys to carry home as a reminder of his impertinence. How dare he, the Prior went on, be so sacrilegious as even to touch Our Lady, he who had only just before left the bed of some compliant woman?[2]

Others also were careful not to lend the weight of their position to advocacy of the miracle. Wilhelm von Diesbach, who, as has been said, was a highly respected and prominent citizen of Berne, was particularly interested in the phenomena exhibited by the weeping image, but he observed that the tear-drops seemed to be stationary and quite unlike what would be expected if they had been liquid, so that he was forced to say that he did not see anything. Others had similar stories to tell, like Konrad Brun, another well-known citizen, and Ludwig Loebli, that "excellent and venerable man" as he is called

[1] These miracles may be compared with those connected with the Holy Bambino of Bari, which I have briefly described in my *Some Human Oddities* (London, 1947), pp. 164 ff. Some further details concerning weeping images and bleeding pictures will be found in the appendix to this chapter (see pp. 101ff.).

[2] Hatt ich in uf dem altar erwuscht, ich wolt im mit minen schlusslen herab gezint haben! Wie darf einer Unser Frow so frefenlich anruheren, der erst von einer huren ist ufgestanden? (See Anshelm, *op. cit.*, p. 100.)

in one of the trial documents, who hinted broadly that the whole affair was due to trickery.

Rumours and talk of this sort could obviously not be allowed to spread, and an official investigation was called for. Popular clamour was enough to suggest it. Switzerland was on the verge of the Reformation, and Zwingli, under the influence of Wyttenbach and Erasmus, was beginning to make himself known. Any monastic scandal or irregularity had to be avoided in order to prevent fresh fuel being added to the fire, which year by year seemed to be spreading and becoming hotter. Perhaps some discreet inquiry might close the incident and the events which had caused so much interest might be slowly forgotten.

Before the investigation started, however, further manifestations occurred. Jetzer was again taken to the miraculous weeping image to receive instructions from the Virgin Mary as to his future course of action. Listening intently, he heard a muffled voice telling him, among other things, how the revelations concerning the nature of her conception were to be transmitted to the Pope, and that by her intercession with her Divine Son dire calamities had been avoided.

A remarkable scene is then said to have occurred. By the side of the image a large picture of the Holy Trinity was hanging, and whilst he was before the image, listening to the voice, Jetzer saw it move slightly as if it were going to fall forwards. Seeing this odd movement, he asked if he should push it back, but he was forbidden to do so by the fathers. After a short time it moved again, and then Jetzer tried to force it back into position, but he was unable to do so, and found to his stupefaction that behind it was crouching the Lector, Stephan Boltzhurst, who had been acting in a ventriloquial capacity in order to deceive the faithful. Shouting with rage and calling them a pack of false rascals, Jetzer dragged the Lector from his position, but again the fathers made the same excuse as before, namely that they were compelled to use this device in order to make certain of what Jetzer would say during the coming examination.[1]

In July 1507 the inquiries began. The Bishop of Lausanne, Aymon de Montfaucon (†1517), came himself to Berne, since the earlier tentative investigations had been unsatisfactory owing to the alleged obstruction of the Dominican authorities and the yielding attitude of the inquirers themselves. Among those sent were Paulus Hug, the Provincial's Vicar at Berne, and Magnus Wetter, who, according to Jetzer's own account, put him through a

[1] Bishop Burnet, during his visit to Berne about 1685, was shown the Dominican Chapel there and saw "the famous hole that went to an image in the Church from one of the cells". According to Burnet Jetzer was "extream simple", and the fraud "one of the blackest, and yet the best carried out that has been ever known". (See his *Some Letters*, Amsterdam, 1686, pp. 30 ff., and for the same story of the hole in the cell cf. *Fragmens historiques de la ville & republique de Berne*, 1re Partie, 2e éd. (Neuchâtel, 1759), pp. 241 ff.

Some of the later confessions of the friars do not support this story that the Lector was responsible for the voices. In these documents we read that the performance was entrusted to a thin and yellow-skinned young novice by name Johann Meyer.

severe cross-examination, chiding him for the statements he had made and finally, in a fit of irritation, striking him in the face with a bunch of keys, which caused blood to flow and a scar to remain under his nose as a silent testimony to the severity of the assault.

It seems that the Dominican authorities were not at all happy at the prospect of the investigation. It is reported that they approached Jetzer and tried to influence him to support both the reality of the apparitions and other phenomena, together with the doctrine of the conception as stated by the phantom Virgin. But another incident was to provide an even greater scandal, if indeed it can be believed in spite of its inclusion in Anshelm's chronicle under the year 1507, and the account of it by Jetzer himself in the processes.[1]

One night a figure entered Jetzer's cell, dressed in grey and white, with a black cap on its head but with no signs of hair. Standing before the bed, the phantom declared itself to be St. Bernard, the illustrious Abbot of Clairvaux, who had died in 1153. He assured Jetzer of the truth of the Dominican idea of the conception of the Blessed Virgin. With a few parting words he turned and then seemed to float out of the window, Jetzer, however, happening to notice that he was shod exactly like the friars in the house. Instantly suspicious, he seized what was left of the body of St. Bernard and pushed it out of the window, where it fell heavily to the ground, Jetzer calling after it, "Out you go in the name of the Devil."[2] As the figure lay on the ground all doubt was laid aside. It was the Prior himself.

On the arrival of the Bishop of Lausanne the hum of the gossiping world began to increase in volume. The Bishop was accompanied by the Prior of Thorberg, a Carthusian, and other officials, but the inquiry was somewhat hampered by the attitude of the authorities at the Berne friary, who were not cooperative and inclined to be secretive. The Prior questioned the authority of the Bishop, but on the latter's persistence he was admitted to Jetzer's cell and began his questions. They were, however, mainly answered by the Prior (who had accompanied the Bishop), and Jetzer had to remain silent, until the Bishop, finally losing his patience, requested the Prior to leave him with Jetzer, only asking two of his companions to stay with him, namely the Prior of Thorberg and Thüring Fricker (1429–1519), the learned clerk of the city of Berne, who was serving both as translator and in an advisory capacity. Jetzer, however, seemed even more simple and naïve than usual, and asked the Bishop to accept the report of the Dominican authorities, which would be of greater value than anything that he could say. Thus obstructed, the Bishop could do little more. He departed. The first round had been won by the Dominicans.

After the Bishop had left, Jetzer became more stubborn, and since he apparently suspected that the soothing ointment which had been applied to his stigmata was having the opposite effect from that supposed to be intended, he refused to make further use of it, and thereupon the wounds began to heal. This fact seems to have led to fresh tests being employed by the friars. The famous red Host, which had previously figured in the appearance of the Virgin Mary, together with the crosses supposed to be formed from the Blood of Jesus, were put into a casket for which four keys had been made. It was then arranged for other notables to visit the friary, such as Nicolaus Schaller, a high civic official, who died in 1524, and who was described by Anshelm as a "true and far-sighted" man. The Prior of the Berne house presented them with three of the keys as an additional precaution, whilst keeping one himself, an arrangement which they accepted without, apparently, thinking of the possibility (as was a little later pointed out by the treasurer, Jakob von Wattenwyl) that extra keys might have been made. The keys were later returned to the fathers, who then suggested that seals might be used, but the idea did not meet with much success.

In spite of the suspicions that had been aroused, the phenomena continued. According to Jetzer's own account, the apparitions that visited him on the next occasion created a scene almost as incredible as that which had previously occurred. Two supposed phantoms appeared, representing the Virgin and St. Catherine of Siena. Both seemed to be wearing white robes over their clothes and were partly veiled, but when they spoke Jetzer declared that he recognized the voices of the Subprior and that of Steinegger, the Procurator. Infuriated by the supposed deception, Jetzer later described how he drew his table-knife and wounded Steinegger in the thigh, whereupon the Subprior, losing his temper, shouted out, "Hi! the devil is in the good-for-nothing! Hit the damned rascal in the face," a piece of advice which Steinegger followed with gusto.[1] Jetzer then got hold of a hammer, with which he struck at the administrator's head, whilst the Subprior took up a pot, flung it at Jetzer's head and missed him, so that it crashed through the window, breaking eight panes of glass. Jetzer thereupon rushed out of the room, bringing back the Prior and the Lector to see what had happened.

It was some time after this incident that Jetzer said that he had discovered that the Prior and the Lector were bringing women into the friary and eating with them, the table being laden with choice viands such as poultry and various kinds of sweetmeats. He said that when he saw them on a certain occasion the fathers were dressed in gay lay garb, and that he recognized some of the women as the daughters of local tradesmen. With a sharp interchange of words, during which they told Jetzer that he was a fool, the incident closed, although Jetzer did not fail to remember that on one occasion the Subprior had told him that he could make a certain ointment which, were he to use it to touch a woman's hand, would make her completely obedient to him.

The subsequent development of the Jetzer affair comprises incidents so

[1] See Anshelm, *op. cit.*, p. 105, and cf. *Die Akten*, pp. 95; 118.

[2] *Nun wohl abhin, in aller tufel namen.* (See Anshelm, *op. cit.*, p. 106, and cf. *Die Akten*, pp. 118; 281 and M. Stettler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 411b, etc.

[1] *Hei, der tufel ist im lolfatzen! schlach den verfluchten lolfatzen ins antlit* (see Anshelm, *op. cit.*, p. 112, and cf. *Die Akten*, pp. 120, 237, etc.).

extraordinary and bizarre that any adequate explanation of the mystery becomes more and more difficult. In these days it is not easy for us to comprehend the state of mind of many of those living in the early sixteenth century. The world of angels and spirits, of demons and familiars, was not relegated to the realms of fancy but of fact. The spiritual world was all around them. It was so closely related to the mundane spheres that interaction was not uncommon, and diabolic intervention was not considered unnatural or indeed very unusual.[1] So when it was said that the Subprior had sold himself to the Devil and had persuaded his associates to do likewise, such a statement did not strike many contemporary observers as impossible to credit or even very difficult to understand. For such was one of the stories that was later unfolded, although some of them were extracted under torture, as we shall see later, and were therefore not above the gravest suspicion.[2] In another instance it was said that Jetzer's convulsions and writhings when simulating the Passion were due to a magical potion, prepared by one Lazarus of Andlau, a baptized Jew whose occupation gave him the opportunity to procure such odd ingredients as blood drawn from the umbilical cord of a new-born child and hair from its head and eyebrows. Again, Jetzer, lured by promises that he would have great learning, was invited to attend a séance at which five or six grey, bearded phantoms appeared, who, dark of mien, so terrified Jetzer that he snatched the book of conjurations from the hands of the Subprior, whereupon the figures vanished, leaving behind them an intolerable stench.

In spite of all these alleged irregularities on the part of his superiors Jetzer continued to live in the friary, and even to accept penances which caused him much physical suffering, which is often described in the records. Moreover, on one occasion the fathers tried to make him swallow the famous red Host which was supposed to have changed its colour under the touch of the apparition of the Virgin Mary. Jetzer resisted, and according to the Subprior, whose testimony on this point was exacted under torture, they forced his mouth open with a key and put the Host on his tongue, but Jetzer spat it out and it fell on a little stool in the room. To their amazement and consternation the Host left a reddish mark on the wood, and all their attempts to remove it were unsuccessful. So some dry chips were sent for, and a fire made up, and both the stool and the Host were burnt. But what followed their action terrified them. Uncanny noises and then a hideous din broke out so that it seemed that the room and even the building were about to fall about their ears.[3] But these strange phenomena did not seem to interest those who subsequently

[1] For a later sixteenth-century study of the demons by that great botanist and physiologist Andreas Caesalpinus see his very interesting *Daemonum. Investigatio Peripatetica* (Florentiae, 1580), and for a study of angels of a somewhat later period see that by the Rev. F. Devas, S.J., entitled *Angels: Facts not Fancies* (London, 1943).

[2] For an interesting seventeenth-century discussion of this question see the book by Augustin Nicolas entitled *Si la Torture est un moyen seur à verifier les crimes secrets* (Amsterdam, 1681).

[3] Cf. the "earthquake" phenomena with the medium D. D. Home. See my *Some Human Oddities* (London, 1947), p. 105.

questioned the Subprior. What mainly interested them and what they in vain tried to find out was what became of the ashes, but on this point Ueltschi could not enlighten them even under torture.

It seems that about this time two of the fathers decided to make a trip to Rome. Before doing so, however, an amazing phenomenon occurred.

One day in September 1507 Mass was being said when the apparition of the Virgin Mary, clothed in white, wearing a glittering diadem and carrying a candle, was seen coming down from above the chancel screen. What then happened is still in doubt, and it is this doubt that will lead us to the heart of the mystery at Berne. For according to Jetzer's version (which Paulus[1] regards as a tissue of lies) he attacked the apparition, believing it to be fraudulent, whereupon it put out the candle and disappeared aloft.[2]

On the other hand, in the *Defensorium*[3] it is said that Jetzer himself was impersonating the Blessed Virgin, and that he was actually recognized by Johannes Dübi and Henrich Wölfli,[4] and thus had to beat a hasty retreat, the wig, crown and veil being later found, it was said, in Jetzer's cell under a bench, and burnt.

Wölfli, in his deposition, actually declared that both the Prior and the Subprior, during the appearance of the phantom, said that it did not resemble the phantom that had been formerly seen in Jetzer's cell, a remark not easy to understand if we assume that they were responsible for the earlier apparitions.

Before attempting to analyse briefly the conflicting evidence in the Jetzer drama the closing scenes must be shortly described.

On September 24, 1507, the Lector and Subprior went to Rome and had a long interview with the Vicar-General, Thomas de Vio Cajetan, who granted them a sympathetic hearing. But for various reasons little came of their mission, and it seems possible that Cajetan realized that a major scandal might be unveiled by too much prodding and probing, and preferred to let the matter rest, hoping that all would settle down and blow over in due course.

Such, however, was far from the case. Berne was humming with talk; and many of its citizens were agog with excitement. What was at the back of all these tales of apparitions, devilish manifestations and red-coloured Hosts? Indeed, talk was so widespread that, on October 2, the Council sent Jetzer to Lausanne to be examined personally by the Benedictine Bishop, Aymon de Montfaucon.

The trial began on October 8, 1507, before the Bishop and in the presence of other ecclesiastical notables, such as Canon Baptista de Aycardis and Guido de Prez.[5] At first Jetzer affirmed the truth of the story of the apparitions which had visited him and he described them to the court. On the fifteenth of

[1] Paulus, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 81.
[2] *Akten*, p. 138: Anshelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.
[3] *Akten*, p. 586.
[4] The Prior stated in 1508 that he caught him at it (see *Akten*, p. 185).
[5] The document is printed in *Akten*, pp. 3-54, and summarized in Stettler, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

the same month, when he was asked if all that he had said on the former occasion was true, he declared that it was, and that he knew that it was the Blessed Virgin who had appeared because she had told him so herself. He was then questioned in detail as to the material or ethereal nature of the apparition, which he described at some length, saying that the door did not open when the phantom left, but that the figure seemed to fade away as it receded into the background of his cell.

Jetzer continued his affirmations for some time and few seemed to suspect that a sensation was about to occur. For one day in November, Jetzer, craving the protection of the Bishop, said that his previous declarations had been false and he was about to tell the whole truth of the affair. He then poured out a story of how he had discovered that the drama was a plot, designed and carried out by the four principal authorities of the friary, and that at least one of their reasons was to bring fame to the house for being the one to be visited by the Virgin Mary in person in order to disclaim her Immaculate Conception.

The affair had now reached a stage where a scandal of the first magnitude might break out at any moment. Jetzer, now unfrocked, was sent back to Berne, and another examination was begun before the Council of the city, during which he repeated his accusations against the fathers, and told how the Subprior was instructed in the black art, and how he had seen a terrible and malignant spirit in the friary emitting flames from his mouth. He attributed his capacity to simulate the Passion to a certain drink which had been given to him. Moreover, he repeated his story of how the fathers made merry with their women friends, and how he knew that other things also went on within the walls of the mysterious building.

The inquiry dragged on from day to day with accusations and counter-accusations, until the Lector and the Subprior returned from their visit to Rome. In this connexion it is interesting to read the letter that Cajetan in Rome sent to Berne. He suggests calmness, prudence and possibly less credulity and naïve simplicity. In another letter, dated February 17, 1508, he writes in the same vein; and it is clear that he was himself extremely dubious as to the reality of the Berne miracles.[1]

The next phase of the dispute was when Jetzer, who had already been subject to torture, was taken before another ecclesiastical commission headed by the Bishop of Lausanne. The members of this body, however, soon perceived how complex were the varying details of the case, and how much theological heat was likely to be generated by too close an inquiry. So Canon Ludwig Loeubli was sent off to Rome and empowered to obtain further instructions from the highest authorities. Loeubli († 1537) had had a varied and not altogether undistinguished career. He had already undertaken one mission to Rome in connexion with a case regarding some silver mines, and

[1] See *Akten*, pp. 612, 618, and cf. D. A. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris, 1903-20), V, pp. 189–190.

on the present occasion his errand seems to have been successful, for the Pope nominated him as procurator in a new inquiry into the lamentable affair at the Berne friary.

On May 21, 1508, Pope Julius II issued his Papal brief in which he instituted a fresh court of inquiry composed of a number of emiment ecclesiastics, such as the Bishop of Lausanne and the even better-known Matthaeus Schiner, Bishop of Sitten (Sion), who became a Cardinal in 1511. With them were nominated Peter Sieber, the Dominican Provincial for Upper Germany, while for what we might call the prosecution Loeubli and Konrad Wymann were chosen, the defence being entrusted to Johann Heintzmann, a somewhat obscure character of whom little seems to be known, Paul Hug, a Dominican from Ulm, and the lawyer Dr. Jacob, of Strasburg.

The Pope's letter, of which the original has, I think, not been found, but of which three texts are extant, dealt with the affair and with the "vain and abominable" details which were considered so offensive to pious ears. It spoke of the material information which had up to that time been extracted from Jetzer, and it was signed by Sigismondo de' Conti, the Papal Secretary.

The trial began in July 1508 and lasted until the following September. Eighteen main points were first drawn up, and then Jetzer was summoned before the court again to give his evidence. Day by day he was questioned on every detail of the extraordinary events in the friary; and as he poured forth his accusations he became, to all intents and purposes, the chief witness for the prosecution. Public opinion was aroused. The angry murmuring of the people of Berne was beginning to be heard even by the staid ecclesiastics before whom the puzzling Jetzer unfolded his horrific tale. The four friars must be heard, and quickly. There was no more time to be lost.

The articles outlining the accusations having been drawn up, the Lector, Stephan Boltzhurst, was the first to be called, and he appeared to give evidence on August 7. Both he and Heinrich Steinegger, who followed him, denied the charges and protested their innocence, and similar testimony was given by the two others. After the defence had submitted its case, which was not well received by the court, a further sensation was aroused by the story that Jetzer had been known to have made up and dressed in female garb while at Lucerne, moving about in public and speaking in a woman's voice.[1]

The court found itself in a dilemma. How was it possible to determine which of the five parties was telling the truth?—for the truth had to be discovered at all costs. Some decision must be arrived at. The people would not brook further delay and fruitless inquiry. And thus it was that, according to the custom of the times, torture was decided upon as a supposed means of dragging the truth from the unwilling witnesses, above all from the four friars. Protests were made but without avail, and Stephan was the first to suffer. The torture chamber was arranged in a room under the apartment of an ecclesiastical dignitary, and after the habits of the four friars had been

[1] See *Akten*, pp. 213, 335, 343, 362, 366.

removed the inquisition began. Little by little the unhappy men confessed to the impostures that had been practised and the fraudulent phenomena which had been produced. But the full confessions were not obtained until the torture had been applied in increasingly severe degrees and on more than one occasion.[1]

It is in these confessions that the full details of the whole affair can be read. How far they were true or false we cannot now determine, but it would seem that some, at least, of the stories revealed must be put down to invention or perhaps to some form of hallucination. Torture, for some time discarded as a means of determining truth, has only recently been reintroduced both in Europe and the United States, and I am not aware of any learned disquisition on the subject of the success or otherwise of the attempted aim.[2]

The most painful scenes were witnessed at the trial of the Prior. He stoutly protested his innocence, but as the torture was increased he began to fail, worn out by suffering and by persistent questioning. He was urged to confess, both by Jetzer (who seems to have been present) and by the Lector, who was also in the room. But he refused, still affirming his innocence, and it was only when he saw a fresh addition to the coming torture being prepared that he murmured, as if in despair: "Ah! what shall I say? If I say nothing I am tortured, but if I speak, then I must invent and lie and think up more biting and jabbing words."[3]

The Bishop of Sitten also begged him to refrain from further trifling and fully and openly to confess. The Bishop made a long speech in which he compared the behaviour of the fathers with the conduct of those holy men in early times who were falsely accused, and even then were willing to suffer for their supposed offences. It was true, he pleaded, that now and then the devil was cunning in his plans to entrap the saints of God. Did he not on one occasion, the Bishop went on, take on the shape of the holy Sylvanus and, enticing an honourable woman into his bedroom, thus caused him to be accused falsely of adultery? But in this case it was different, and it was clear that the Bishop had already made up his mind.[4] He addressed, however, a final appeal to the Prior so that further torture might be avoided. His appeal was successful. The Prior, doubtless by then completely worn out by mental and physical anguish, fell down on his face before the inquisitors and, lamenting and weeping, called for mercy and allowed his confession to be committed

[1] *Et tunc dictus magister Stephanus ductus fuit ad locum torture, ibidemque manibus corda ligatus monitusque per dictos dominos iudices competenter, ut ante omnem torturam veritatem dicere vellet, quo respondente, ut supra proxime, elevatus fuit sursum quinque vicibus succesive, una videlicet sine lapide, altera vero cum unius et reliquis tribus cum duorum lapidum ad redes eius appositione, factis prius in qualibet elevationis vice monitionibus oportunis* (see *Akten*, p. 252).

[2] Cf. the policy of the various European secret police authorities and for the United States see, for example, E. H. Lavine, *The Third Degree* (New York, 1930).

[3] "*Ach, was sol ich sagen? Sag ich nit, so wird ich gemartret; sag ich aber, so muss ichs erdenken und liegen, und andre riz- und spizwort me*" (see Anshelm, *op. cit.*, p. 145, and cf. *Akten*, 291).

[4] Erasmus, in his "Familiar Colloquies" (*Exsequiae seraphicae* in *Opera*, Lugd. Bat., 1703, Tom I, 870 b.), hints that Schiner was largely responsible for the condemnation of the four friars, and in his preface clearly states that Jetzer was deluded by the friars.

to writing, which was done on September 4, and which, as Anshelm adds, took up seven sheets of paper.

A similar scene was enacted in the case of the Subprior, who followed the example of his colleague the next day, and had his confession also drawn up in documentary form.

The trial proceeded and soon all was set for the final scenes. On September 7 Locubli asked for judgment against the fathers, and Heintzmann pleaded with the court, affirming that, as this was a very special case, it would be better to have a full deposition drawn up and submitted to the Pope before any final and irrevocable decisions were made. After much consultation the plea of the defence was granted, and Konrad Wymann was deputed to take the full documents, both ecclesiastical and civil, to Rome for the decision of the higher officials.

Before the final judgment was reached, however, the civil authorities took possession of the haunted friary, and turned the friars out to fare as best they could. Everything was in confusion. The delay in the final judgment was resented by the people, and it was not until March 1, 1509, that the Pope issued a letter appointing Achilles de Grassis, Bishop of Citta di Castello (†1523), a man of wide experience in diplomatic missions, to act as a commissioner to supervise the proceedings.

The court opened in Berne on May 2, 1509. The letters from Rome were presented to the Bishops of Lausanne and Sitten, and the various clerks, notaries and translators were nominated.

Jetzer himself was the first to appear, and on May 4 and 5 he was again questioned on the share that he had taken in the events in the friary. He repeated many of the stories he had previously told, and again narrated the tale of the séance where had appeared some terrible black phantoms who, when they had vanished, left behind them a nauseating stench.[1] But even this did not seem to strike the court as odd, unusual or possibly untrue. Such accounts in those days were commonplaces: they were part of the religious background of every believer. The details which really interested the authorities were those which centred on such obscure and thorny topics as what happened to the remains of the Host which Jetzer had spat out after it had been forcibly placed in his mouth. Such facts as to whether it remained whole, complete, incorrupt and solid were important, as also were the facts relating to its appearance when lying on the stool, and the truth or otherwise of the story that it had been actually burnt.[2] These were questions which could be argued and discussed. The existence of black demons leaving behind them noisome smells was not worthy of serious debate. It was obviously true, and, after all, any searching questions regarding the reality of the phenomena might be construed as indicating that a doubt was present in the interrogator's own mind on the question whether diabolical manifestations ever were

[1] See *Akten*, p. 423.

[2] See *Akten*, p. 424, and cf. pp. 431, 445.

objective. Silence or the diversion of the inquiry into other channels was the wiser course.

The Lector, Boltzhurst, was the next to be examined. He was led in, now freed from his fetters, and proceeded to confirm what he had already confessed, even repeating the story of the black demons, but this time forgetting whether they were all bearded or beardless.[1] He agreed also that he it was who had been concealed behind the picture near the image of the Virgin when he acted as a ventriloquist; and he was also questioned as to what he knew on the subject of Jetzer's knowledge about the controversy on the Immaculate Conception.

Steinegger was the next to appear and a similar scene was enacted. The phenomena were again described in detail and in what the Procurator described was their true setting. The Prior followed and all the sensational incidents were again narrated; and the same could be said of the Subprior, whose examination took place on May 14. At the beginning of his examination he said that he wanted to withdraw what he had confessed under torture and that he was not concerned with what others had said but that he himself was innocent. Since it appeared, however, that fresh torture was being considered with a view to trying again to determine the truth of the matter he again reversed his statement and confirmed his confession. Proceeding with his answers to the questions put to him, he said that he had no idea who it was who had invented the story of Prior Kalpurg, whose phantom was supposed to have appeared to Jetzer in the early days of the manifestations. Finally, the moment arrived when the last question had been asked and the witnesses were then called to give their evidence. Among them was Martin Franke,[2] the goldsmith, and others who had themselves seen the apparitions in the friary. One Niklaus Alber was also called and he testified that he was a chemist and druggist, and that he had prepared certain poisons for one of the friars, a fact previously mentioned in the last statement by the Prior himself,[3] who had said that only one part of the Host had been poisoned, so that a portion could have been broken off and eaten with impunity.

The four friars were then recalled to give additional evidence, and on May 22 the hearing of the accused closed. The next day (May 23, 1509) judgment was pronounced after the friary had been visited by officials of the court with a view to confirming or otherwise the accounts of what was said to have been observed there. The materialized candles were examined, together with another of he red Hosts, but the seals on which were the little crosses made with Christ's Blood had been burnt.

The trial was now over and the alleged crimes of the four accused men duly examined. Put very briefly, the main points against them were, as Murner later pointed out, that (*a*) they had denied their God and entered into a pact

[1] *Akten*, p. 432.
[2] See *Akten*, p. 497, and for the text of his deposition see pp. 339 ff.
[3] See *Akten*, p. 473.

with the Devil; (*b*) they had artificially coloured a consecrated Host; (*c*) they had faked the weeping image; and (*d*) they had made a mockery of Christ's wounds.

The sentence was what had been expected. The miserable Dominicans were deprived of their orders and handed over to the secular arm, and the following day was appointed for the formal execution of the sentence. Close by the prison stands had been erected which had been duly draped and made ready for the high ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries. The Prior, in full sacerdotal vestments, first appeared, and was quickly stripped of his priestly garb, given a kick and then handed over to the legal authorities of the city with the usual recommendation to mercy as was the custom in such cases. The same procedure was adopted with the three other prisoners; and Anshelm relates how every window, roof and even alley was thronged with citizens and visitors, all eager and anxious to be present and to see for themselves so astonishing an event.

The next day the case of Jetzer was considered. The judges were not unmindful of the false evidence that he had given and of the other "detestable, scandalous and infamous" features which had characterized the part that he had played in the affair. As his penance and punishment he was therefore banished from Upper and Lower Germany and expelled from all other places to be named later. Moreover, so that his deeds and evil reputation might be obvious to all, he was ordered to be led through the city of Berne and through its main square wearing a paper mitre on his head, and to suffer for an hour fastened upon a ladder for all to see![1]

On May 31 the sentences of death by fire on the four friars were made known and carried out. They were taken over the River Aare to a field on the opposite bank, where now is the Schwellenmättelei, and here the stakes had been erected for their terrible death. It was not too long before the end came, but not until horrible and heart-rending scenes had been witnessed by the spectators, including Bishop Achilles de Grassis, who was observing the spectacle from a tower window not far off. In order to avoid harrowing the feelings of my readers I propose drawing a veil over the details of the final moments of the four Dominicans. Suffice it to say that their deaths had to be hastened by other means than those of the flames which played around them.

The fathers had perished but Jetzer still lived. He was still awaiting the final decision of the court as to his immediate future. For some time he lay in gaol whilst his case was argued and fought over by the authorities, who clearly could not make up their minds on the precise nature of the part that he had played.

One day, however, he was visited by his mother, who had brought with her a variety of female garments. Jetzer was soon dressed in them, and before long he had slipped out of the gates and made his way by cross-alleys to the house of another religious order, where he remained for some time. Later he

[1] For this punishment see J. Millaeus, *Praxis criminis* (Parisiis, 1541), p. 85.

was concealed by his sisters for some eight weeks; and finally he left Berne, after which he married and again took up his old tailoring trade. But on one occasion he entered what was for him forbidden territory, and he was soon arrested and imprisoned in Baden. The authorities in Berne were at once informed, but they had had enough of Jetzer. The trial alone had cost some thousands of gulden, and so he was soon free again and seems to have wandered back to Zurzach, dying, it is thought, about 1515.

He never seems to have recorded anything more of the part that he had played in the amazing drama in which he was the principal figure. He was as much a puzzle then as he is today. Was he a deceiver or was he deceived? That was the question which agitated people at the time and has been the centre of controversy ever since. How far bias and prejudice have entered into the quarrel I am not prepared to say. Certainly some writers seem to me to accept the fact of Jetzer's guilt on somewhat insufficient evidence, although the thought that the four friars could have been guilty must have been highly distasteful to Catholic writers, whereas the Protestant controversialists were not averse from the conclusion, and indeed laid on the colours at times rather more thickly than seemed necessary.

For our own purposes and from a purely unemotional and objective standpoint it will, perhaps, be better to sum up the varied factors, and then try to see how far the evidence of guilt points to Jetzer, to the Dominicans or possibly to both in varying degrees.

Now, it must be admitted, I think, that at least some of the phenomena in the friary were fraudulent; that is to say that the manifestations were normally produced by certain persons for certain ends. It would seem, moreover, that the majority of the objective phenomena belong to this category.

It is possible, however, that the *first* alleged apparition of Prior Kalpurg may have been a hallucination on the part of Jetzer (who was clearly an unstable character), and that the reception that this tale received in the friary may have put ideas into the heads of Jetzer and of the four friars. Indeed, I am inclined to think that one difficulty encountered by earlier critics was due to their tendency to think that the solution of the Jetzer mystery lay in the assumption of guilt of one *or* of the others, whereas I am not unmindful of the possibility (which was already hinted at by Mortier[1]) that *all* were, in some respects at least, guilty of a common effort.

If we suppose that Jetzer alone was guilty, we seem to me to be faced with grave difficulties, some of which are almost insurmountable. For instance, it may be true, as Schuhmann[2] has pointed out, that the evidence of Vatter and Wernher as recorded in the *Defensorium* seems to be simple and sincere and hardly like that which would have been concocted by a pair of guilty deceivers. And it also seems possible that certain of the alleged appearances of

[1] D. A. Mortier, *op. cit.*, V, p. 146.
[2] G. Schuhmann, "Die Berner Jetzertragödie im Lichte der neuren Forschung und Kritik" (*Erl. u. Erg. zu Janssens Geschichte*, 1912, IX, Heft. 3, p. 6).

the Virgin were staged by Jetzer himself, who sometimes merely changed his voice to give the effect of two persons being in his cell. Indeed, the uncertainty regarding the actual presence of two persons, or more precisely the presence of Jetzer and an apparition, rather suggests that Jetzer may have been acting the part of the supposed celestial visitor.[1]

On the other hand, assuming his guilt, it does not seem impossible that he had confederates within the friary, such as that very dubious person Lazarus of Andlau, or introduced them from outside, in which case they may have been either his sisters or some of his girl friends with whom he was known to have associated at dances and other social functions.[2]

Now, is it really possible to believe that four of the principal authorities in a Dominican friary at Berne were so blinded by credulity and naïve belief that they permitted the new arrival to frame up a whole series of objective and allegedly miraculous phenomena, in which he may have been assisted by visitors from outside? However simple they may have been, however naïve their belief in the world of angels, demons and spirits, and however strong their desire to score off the Franciscans and procure for their own house such an unprecedented honour, it appears to me almost incredible that they remained completely innocent of any knowledge of what was really going on. Are we to assume on this theory that their alleged discovery of Jetzer impersonating the Virgin Mary above the chancel screen was the *first* thing that had aroused their suspicions; and that even the weeping and talking image was arranged by Jetzer in a way which failed to suggest to them that it was otherwise than supernormal? Indeed, I think that the case of the weeping and talking image is probably crucial in any decision that can be made regarding the innocence or guilt of the parties in the case. For if we suppose that Jetzer arranged the details of this manifestation (having perhaps heard of the miraculous picture of the Madonna at Como in 1507[3]), we should have to assume that he first of all got hold of some paint in order to colour the face of the image to represent tears, and then, a little later, got a confederate to act the part of the Virgin and Christ whilst speaking in two voices. This phenomenon would then have to be presented to the friars, and they would have to accept it as genuine, although from the records themselves it does not seem to have been very convincing even before the image began to talk.

On the other hand it may be said by some that the whole phenomenon was due to a form of hallucination on the part of the witnesses, and that the stories of the Lector being dragged from behind the picture or of young Johann Meyer acting the part are complete fabrications. I am not unmindful

[1] For the vague and hesitant statements on this matter see *Akten*, p. 180, for the opinion of the Prior; *Akten*, p. 166, for that of the Lector, who saw the form and heard the voice; *Akten*, p. 339, for that of the Subprior according to the testimony of Anton Noll; and *Akten*, p. 175, for Steinegger's view, where it is clear that he was uncertain as to whether Jetzer was in bed or not.
[2] See *Akten*, p. 499.
[3] Cf. H. von Greyerz, "Der Jetzerprozess und die Humanisten" (*Arch. d. Hist. Ver. d. kt. Bern*, 1932, xxxi, p. 255).

of these possibilities, and if the reader cares to examine the appendix to this chapter he will find some references and short accounts of various examples of this curious form of collective illusion or hallucination. But in this case I do not think that it can be substantiated.

Now, if the friars were guilty of the fraud, most of our difficulties fade away. There would be no reason why they should not have arranged both the tears and the voices. Moreover, if at times Jetzer was placed under a mild hypnotic spell, the thing would have been still more easy. If Jetzer was the person that he is portrayed in the trials and on the witness-stand, then he might have been deceived, even as, on this theory, he had been deceived by the horrific spectacle of the Prior Kalpurg in the early days. It seems to me, therefore, that in the case of the weeping image the probability of the complicity of the friars is so great that it cannot be lightly brushed aside.

Moreover, if we regard Jetzer (with or without external assistance) as solely responsible for producing the phenomena, it is not easy to understand what powerful motive he could have had which drove him forward to produce one effect after another. Was he the victim of a kind of megalomania, wishing to be regarded as a saint, who not only was specially favoured by the rank of the apparitions visiting him, but who was also actually permitted to simulate the Passion in his ecstasies and raptures? Did he soon discover that the friars were easy dupes and did their conduct during the faking of the Virgin's appearance on the screen, when the matter was hushed up, merely confirm the view that he had taken of them? But, on this supposition, how did he, an unlettered peasant, manage to learn enough theology to pose as an apparition and perhaps instruct his accomplices in the parts they had to play?

On the other hand, assuming that the friars were guilty (and there, at least, the motives were clear and obvious), is it not possible that they thought that they had secured in the hysterical Jetzer a tool, who would not only be an easy prey to simple tricks but who might himself produce phenomena which would supplement those of their own, add to his own reputation and, best of all, be impossible to expose? After all, it is probable that the friars had made some inquiries about Jetzer when he applied for admission. Reports were current that in his early years he had told his mother that the Blessed Virgin had spoken to him in the chapel at Zurzach; and that long before he had entered the Dominican house at Berne he had seen a phantom which had addressed him.[1]

Moreover, is it not possible, as has been suggested above, that some of the early manifestations were due to hallucination on the part of Jetzer, and that these were the first scenes in a drama where the later actions of the friars became the fraudulent, objective counterparts of what Jetzer had already experienced subjectively and had described to them as if they were objective and external to himself?

I must again insist that to suppose that the solution of the Jetzer mystery lies

[1] See the evidence of Heinrich Stiffels during the trial at Berne, and compare it with that inserted in the articles for the defence in the *Akten*, pp. 377 and 212.

in assuming guilt on the one side *or* the other is a mistake. There was probably guilt on *both* sides, and it is impossible for us to determine how far it was divided. After all, the proof of the supposed plot at Wimpfen, when it was decided to simulate phenomena, has never been produced. It is true that a meeting of the Dominicans was held at Wimpfen during the Easter of 1506, but, as Büchi[1] points out, since we do not possess any of the official records, we are forced to rely upon information derived from other sources. We know that the question of the Immaculate Conception was discussed at Wimpfen; and if we can accept the evidence of the bell-founder, Johann Zeender, people were saying before any of the phenomena had happened that marvels were expected to be reported from the monastery at Berne.[2] It seems that the same witness had not heard very good accounts of Jetzer from those who were accustomed to visit the fairs at Zurzach and so were likely to learn all the local gossip.

For example, it was said that if these marvels had happened at Zurzach, Jetzer would soon have found himself with his neck between two pieces of wood; and it was also rumoured that a Dominican preacher at Frankfurt had mentioned the marvels going on in Berne only some ten days after they had started, an incident which has suggested to certain critics the idea that he might have known of the plan beforehand, although I do not think that it was at all impossible that rumours of what was occurring might not have reached Frankfurt in the time allowed.

Again, it has never been proved, I think, that there is any good evidence to support the supposition that the condemnation of the four Dominicans was due partly, at least, to other reasons than those outlined in the trials. We cannot be content to brush aside as worthless the opinions of contemporary chroniclers like Anshelm or Pellikan, of whom the latter, although seeming to think the *Defensorium* the truest version of the case, does not so much as mention Jetzer in his own chronicle.[3]

Similarly E. E. Cordus in his satirical verses[4] seems to take the guilt of the friars for granted, and the same can be said of the poet J. L. Locher, who died in 1528.[5]

Whatever Thomas Murner's private views may have been, it is not easy to come to any clear decision from an examination of his work. This famous

[1] A. Büchi, "Kardinal Matthäus Schiner als Staatsmann und Kirchenfürst" (*Coll. Freiburgensia, N.F., Fasc. xviii* [*XXVII*], Zürich, 1923, p. 117). It is hardly likely that any official record would include this highly secret arrangement.

[2] See *Akten*, pp. 374-76.

[3] See K. Pellikan, *Das Chronikon*, Hrsg. durch B. Riggenbach (Basel, 1877), pp. 37 ff. Pellikan was a distinguished humanist and, although a Franciscan, was a radical thinker who later embraced the tenets of Zwingli. For a study of the relation of the humanists to the Jetzer case see H. von Greyerz in the *Arch. d. Hist. Ver. d. kt. Bern*, 1932, xxxi, 243-99.

[4] *Epitaphium in quatuor haeresiarchias ex Praedicatorum ordine, Bernae combustos.* In *Opera poetica* (Helmstadii, 1614), pp. 205 ff. Cordus was a German poet and physician who died in 1535 and was therefore alive at the time of the Jetzer trial. For his position in the affair see R. Ischer, "E. Cordus und der Jetzerhandel" (*Neujahrsblatt d. Lit. Gesell. Bern auf d. Jahr*, 1917, pp. 77-84).

[5] See his *Carmen de idolatria quorundam Bernensium combustorum*, which was reprinted by J. H. Hottinger in Pt. V. (Tiguri, 1655) of his *Hist. Eccles. Novi Test.*, pp. 340 ff.

Franciscan and caustic contemporary satirist was born in 1475 and must have known what there was to know about the events in Berne. In his three unsigned contributions, details of which will be found in the appendix, the general tendency of his thought seems to be to condemn the scandal as a whole, whilst leaving to others the final decision as to where the guilt actually lay. It is known that he was in Berne at the time and had a good deal to do with the reports of Vatter and Wernher, which comprise the first and second parts of the *Defensorium*, a document of primary importance among the contemporary sources on the affair.

As regards the judges at the trials, we have no reason, I think, to suspect that they were not trying to arrive at the truth by methods which were habitual at the time and which they believed to be useful for the purpose for which they were intended. It may be that they were influenced by popular clamour and by the growing power of those who were to lead the Reformation. They may have thought that a condemnation of the four friars would illustrate their own attitude to monastic abuses, whereas to put the whole blame on Jetzer would tend to lead people to imagine that a scapegoat was being sacrificed to save ecclesiastical prestige. But even supposing that such factors entered into their calculations, what other course could they have adopted when the confessions of the friars are considered? Bishop Achilles de Grassis seems to have been fully satisfied, and he had all the facts before him. The final sentence had to be ratified at the highest levels, and there does not seem to be any evidence that the friars withdrew their evidence given under torture just before they finally met their death.

For the benefit of the modern reader, who is interested in psychological rather than theological criticism, I propose at this point to examine the case from another angle which has hitherto been, I think, entirely neglected.

There seems little doubt that one of the principal difficulties that critics have had in their analysis of the Jetzer affair is that they have mostly been theologians and historians and certainly none of them psychical researchers. Had they had experience in the scientific investigation of alleged occult phenomena, and seen the astonishing effect that belief in such manifestations can have on the human mind, they would not have failed to have made some inquiries or undertaken some personal research so that they might add a psychological examination of the case to the historico-theological analysis which they had undertaken. Had they done so I do not think they would have so often insisted on the incredible credulity and naïveté of the four friars, assuming that these were innocent of any active participation in the fraud. But, as psychical researchers know well, an *active* participation is not the only kind. There is a kind of *passive* participation in which the actions of a fraudulent performer could easily be exposed were it not for an overwhelming desire on the part of the observers to believe in the genuineness of the phenomena. Little mistakes on the part of the medium are glossed over; evidence, which if examined dispassionately would suggest fraud, is hushed up; new manifestations are actually suggested to the medium, who after some time produces them.

Many of the manifestations exhibited by modern mediums would be impossible were it not for this passive co-operation on the part of the believers, who, if serious observers are present, are very careful to have these placed in disadvantageous positions, where they are well guarded and prevented from seeing too much. I remember that on one occasion, when I was anxious to investigate a prominent psychic photographer who refused to admit me to his sittings, I suggested that I should be enclosed in a sack, with only my head protruding, but that I should be allowed to keep my eyes open as I was carried in and out of his studio and dark-room. He had sitters from all over the country, photographers, business men, spiritualists and just plain, ordinary people. They had no difficulty in gaining admittance, joining in the work in the dark-room and then coming out and proclaiming that "fraud was impossible". But I was systematically excluded. There was something in my conditions which could not be accepted. My eyes were to remain open, and, unfortunately for the medium, *I knew where to look*. This man was, in many respects, a clever performer, making use of two main methods, and would have been easy to expose had he not worked behind a wall of dupes who protected him from any inquiry which promised to be serious and not to provide propaganda for the spiritualist movement.

Those of my readers who have experience in these things will find themselves quite at home in reading the stories in the Jetzer affair. For we find in these narratives all the little incidents, idle gossip, sensational rumours, explainings away and passings off that are today being practised with our modern wonder-workers. The only difference is that in the sixteenth century the belief in witchcraft and the efficacy of torture in eliciting the truth make the evidence much more difficult to appraise than it is today.

As we have to regard with some suspicion certain of the confessions made at the actual trials, it may be more profitable to glance at some of the independent testimony given by a few of the witnesses in the case. In this way we may be able to see how the affair struck outsiders, although it must be remembered that these men were probably sincere believers in such phenomena, since these were a part of their religion.

On August 12, 1508, a smith by name Anton Noll, who was prominent in ecclesiastical affairs, gave evidence. He tells of how there were doubts expressed in his presence, and how a well-known man, having heard of the weeping image, went post-haste to the church. There he found a crowd of people weeping and bewailing, but when he went up to examine the image, he had to confess that he did not himself see any change in its appearance, but that it was the same as it was the day before, or even the day before that. Indeed, as he left the church he wondered whether it were fantasy or illusion.

Noll then goes on to describe Jetzer's ecstasies and raptures. He saw him lying on his bed with his body going up and down. His hands and arms were

extended, and his feet were twisted one on top of the other. The Subprior asked him to come up to the bed and try to separate one foot from the other, but Noll thought that he could not touch so holy a man who was undergoing such an experience, and so he refused. Then the Subprior explained to those who were present how Jetzer was symbolizing the Passion; and he showed them the stigmata. The group was then taken by the Subprior to the cell, where the apparition had been received by Jetzer, and he pointed out to them the holes in the wall through which they had seen the phantom and heard it speak. Then they were taken to the church and the red Host was displayed, the Subprior telling them that the Prior had himself consecrated this Host, and that they were certain that it was the same one now miraculously coloured by the Blessed Virgin Herself.

After this they were shown the candle which the apparition had carried in her hand like a little torch, and when he had looked at it Noll wanted to light it. But the Subprior said that it was useless to try because it would not burn. Nevertheless one of those present put a light to it and at once it began to burn, an incident which had apparently occurred on another occasion, but which the Subprior had to pass off with some explanation or other. This business with the candle disturbed Noll. He was not happy about it, and he began to wonder whether the affair was true or whether there might be some other explanation. Meantime the Subprior was telling them how some of the friars had found on ten or twelve occasions candles which had been lighted by the Blessed Virgin, and which, instead of being placed in candlesticks, were standing up by themselves.

Noll then went on to say how one day Canon Wölfli asked how he liked these Dominican marvels. Noll replied that, if they were true, he liked them well enough, but not if they were false. To which Wölfli replied that he must believe them because they were true, and had been testified to by himself, by the Carthusian Prior of Thorberg and by others.

The witness then went on to tell the court how the priest Tessenmacher had climbed up to have a look at the weeping image; and how the Lector, when preaching in the church, said that it was not suitable for some gross fellow to reach up and touch the image of Our Lady.

Finally he was asked how big were the holes in the wall of the cell through which the apparition had been seen, and to this he replied that he did not know the exact size, but thought they were about the size of a nut.

The same kind of examination was undergone by the goldsmith Martin Franke; and then Wilhelm von Diesbach was called. He was a highly respected and very prominent official of the city of Berne, and he told the court how he was asked one day to come to the friary, where he was received by the Prior, and told all about the marvels which were going on there in connexion with Jetzer. On one occasion he said that he himself had seen Jetzer with hands together and kneeling before the image of the Virgin, in which position he was said to have been for some hours. The witness does not seem to have been particularly struck by this expression of Jetzer's sanctity, since he told the court that he was sorry for him, and said that he should be helped up so that he might go away. But there was more to follow, for after Jetzer had been spoken to by the Subprior, he gave a performance before the altar in which he symbolized the Passion. Then the witness said that he had been shown the red Host and the seals with the red crosses, and told the story of how these were procured. Finally he said what he knew of Jetzer, but he could tell little because it was clear that he had but little interest in him or his doings.

On August 13 another prominent Berne citizen, Thomas vom Stein, gave evidence. He had not much to say, but his story was enlivened by the relation of an incident in which the Prior was said to have reprimanded Jetzer, saying that if anything wrong was discovered he would throw him into the river with his own hands. When he was asked what it was that caused rumours about what was going on, Stein said that he thought that it was on account of the story of the coloured Host, an opinion not altogether shared by the next witness, Benedikt von Wyngarten, who had held a number of important official offices. He admitted that at first he had believed in the phenomena, but when asked if he still did so he said that he did not, but that he had never seen anything suspicious.

Another witness on August 13 was Niklaus Darm, whose testimony is reminiscent of that formerly given by Noll. He told the court the same story of how Jetzer was to be seen lying on his bed as if unconscious with his feet twisted and cold, and although an attempt was made to separate them on two occasions it was unsuccessful.

From these accounts it is clear that the friars had no objection to parties of people from outside the friary coming in and viewing Jetzer in his trances and seizures. Rumours of what was going on were, therefore, bound to spread. These exhibitions were similar to modern séances, and the behaviour of the Dominicans then was just like the behaviour of the supporters of modern wizards today.

The same atmosphere of showmanship is discernible in the conditions described by Rudolf Huber, who gave his testimony on the following day. He said how he visited the friary and had found other distinguished citizens of Berne there. The Prior and the Subprior were showing the party the red crosses and telling them how they had been produced. The red Host was also shown to them, and the stories of the apparitions related by the Subprior. Moreover, the story was told of how Jetzer was transported bodily through the air by the Virgin Mary from one spot to another, and how the falling of some stones marked his passage, a tale also reported by another witness, Konrad Brun, who was one of those who did not think that the weeping image had in reality the properties which were claimed for it.

An interesting commentary on how rumour was spread was provided by Johann Schindler, who told the court that his wife had first of all told him of how an image was weeping tears of blood at the Dominican friary, how an apparition had been reported, and how one of the holy friars had

received the stigmata. So one day he went to see the image and examined it carefully, but he came away with the feeling that the rumour about it was not true. The tears did not seem to him to come from the eyes of the image, and he suspected, like Tessenmacher, the use of red paint. Besides, even when standing under the cross the Blessed Virgin had never wept tears of blood, so why should an image of her do so now?

The witness then went on to describe how at one time he was one of a party of some twenty persons who were taken round the friary. They were shown a little wax candle by the Subprior, who told them that it was the one that the Virgin Mary had carried and that, although it seemed small, the light that it gave out was like that of a big torch, but that now when it was lighted it would not burn. Two of the party tried to light it and failed, the friar remarking that he had told them that it would not burn however many times fire was applied to it, but a third then made the attempt and the candle lighted, the Subprior then remarking that it had to burn after so many attempts had been made.

The point was then raised as to how it was that the Virgin Mary chose Jetzer rather than the Subprior himself if everything that she said had to be heard by the latter when listening at one of the holes in the wall. This point was evaded by the friars, who said that Jetzer was a simple, good brother and that the Subprior had to tell him how to reply and talk with the apparition.

Asked the direct question as to whether Schindler believed now in the guilt of the four friars, he said that he did, and added that he thought money came into the matter, since there was a metal plate at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in which contributions could be placed.

On August 16 Johann Dübi gave evidence. He recalled the incident when the Prior was said to have threatened Jetzer that he would throw him into the river if anything wrong was discovered, but his version of the incident makes the Prior even more explicit, for Dübi told the court that the Prior told Jetzer that if he discovered anything wrong or fraudulent he would himself bring the wood for Jetzer's death at the stake.

There seems little doubt that it is to these incidents that the Prior was referring during his examination at Berne in August 1508. He was asked if he had ever made any secret investigations to try to ascertain the nature of the phenomena which had been reported to him, but he replied that, with the exception of the apparition in the organ-loft, he had done nothing but had often and often (*sepe et sepius*) exhorted Jetzer with heavy threats lest he might do something which was fraudulent or deceitful.[1]

[1] See *Akten*, p. 184. Stories are not lacking in light literature of the pranks of young people in monasteries and nunneries and their playing practical and often unseemly jokes for the purpose of frightening and annoying the older brethren and sisters. For instance, in the *Nouvelles Monacales* by Le Sr. D*** (Cologne, 1763) we read of Brother Maurice, who wrote messages in luminous paint on the walls of the monastery to frighten the old Prior (p. 22), and who dressed up as a ghost, but this time only to be ignominiously exposed (p. 25). Some of his other efforts are better left unrecorded, especially the two tricks the young rascal played on a couple of unsuspecting nuns caught in unfortunate moments (pp. 37 and 44 ff.).

This statement by the Prior seems to me to be important although not easy to interpret. It is, I think, possible that the Prior himself may have been almost innocent of any active participation in the fraud, and that Jetzer may have acted in collaboration with the Subprior or the Lector or both.

The same day on which Dübi gave his evidence saw the appearance in court of Heinrich Stiffels, a carpenter who had worked at the friary, but who clearly had not thought much about the phenomena occurring there. Asked about the holes in the wall, he said that he had seen four of them. At first, he said, they were quite small, but later they were enlarged and then it was possible to get a good view into the cell.

From the account of their experiences in the friary it seems clear that both the Rev. Benedikt Dick and Rudolf Schürer were assured of the truth and reality of the phenomena by one of the friars, a certain Paul Süberlich, who declared that all was true and genuine with no admixture of fraud and that he would vouch for their truth by being stoned or even burnt alive.

The same zealous young friar appears to have been suspected of insincerity by another witness, a priest from Oberwil. Süberlich, when describing the phenomena to him, happened to mention the little locked box in which the seals had been placed, and which, he said, had been given to Jetzer by the apparition, and added that the box was to be opened only by the Pope. When he was asked what could be in the box, Paul Süberlich "incautiously" (according to the witness) replied that there was a piece of paper, a cross and three drops of blood, whereupon the witness immediately asked him how he knew what was inside it if the Pope alone was to be allowed to open it. Nobody in the court apparently pointed out where the misunderstanding had arisen, and the witness was allowed to depart without further questioning.

Another of the important witnesses was the lay-brother, Oswald. He said that he had actually seen one of the phantoms in Jetzer's room. He was vague about its precise appearance, but said that it had hair on its head, that its ears were long and its nose both long and hooked. He denied seeing flames coming from its mouth or nose, but affirmed that he heard the falling stones and the din made by the phantom, and had actually picked up one of the stones near his own cell. He went on to say that he saw the phantom neither go in nor come out of Jetzer's room, and that he did not see two persons but heard two voices, one of them being Jetzer's own and the other hoarse and rough. He admitted that he did not understand what was said, but continued by stating that on one occasion he had seen the apparition of the Virgin before Jetzer's bed, and the phantom seemed to him to have the face of a woman. He was questioned somewhat closely about these events, and gave his evidence clearly and sincerely. In reply to a question which may have been put to him to test his own visionary capacities he said that he had never seen any angels in his own room.

Bernhart Karrer then gave evidence. He was to be later Prior of the Berne friary and thus was not an unimportant witness, even though Steinegger

had said at Berne that both he and Oswald were in the fraud. He said that he had heard the bangings and throwing of stones and, moreover, had both heard and seen the phantom in Jetzer's cell. He described it as having a good deal of hair and a long, hooked nose. He had seen it on three occasions, and on one of them he saw that it had a candle in its hand, and was looking under the table for something, he knew not what. Asked if he had seen the apparition make knocks or throw stones, he said that he had not actually seen the phantom produce these phenomena, neither had he seen the apparitions of the Virgin Mary, St. Barbara or the angels.

It is unnecessary to describe further the evidence as given by later witnesses. Its substance is the same and throws no fresh light on the mystery. But from what I have taken from their depositions it is obvious that their experiences in the friary were just such as might have been expected. They were visitors, not investigators. What was wanted was approval and belief, not scepticism and a desire to probe. In this way the friars became passive participators in the fraud even if it be assumed (wrongly, as I think) that they were not themselves actively engaged in it.

Thus when all the facts are considered (and I do not think that this will be possible until the *Defensorium* and the Processes are translated and carefully edited) the mystery remains one of the most curious and intriguing in ecclesiastical history. Jetzer's own personality is one of the most puzzling psychological problems. Was he a fraudulent medium, a misguided fanatic, or an honest fool? Or was he all these? In short, was he a deceiver *and* deceived?

APPENDIX

Johann Jetzer: Deceiver or Deceived?

Before listing the main materials which I have used in examining the Jetzer case, it may be of interest to the curious reader if some other odd cases are shortly considered which can be compared with that occurring in the friary at Berne. For this purpose I shall not enumerate any of the spirit manifestations which have so long been associated with alleged haunted houses, or said to occur in the presence of mediums. I am going to limit attention to cases of pictures and statues which appear to "come to life". For example, there are pictures in which the figures portrayed appear to weep and move their eyes, or, as in some cases, to exude blood which is of a material nature and which can be taken away and analysed.

Then there are images and statues which are said to weep, turn their eyes, and from which blood flows at regular and irregular intervals. Finally, there are cases in which statues and images are seen to move their arms, legs and

fingers, and almost to behave as if they were human beings or some strange form of automata suddenly brought into motion by an internal and hidden mechanism. We shall thus be able to see that the story of the weeping and talking image of Berne relates not to an isolated phenomenon, but belongs merely to a long chain of similar stories extending from the earliest times down to the present day.

In ancient Egypt, when it became necessary to consult the gods, people used sometimes to gather round a statue which now and then replied briefly by speaking or making some movement and then again relapsing into immobility.[1] Such manifestations were not unknown in classical times, and it is said that in 1864 a statue was unearthed in Rome in which a hole was found in the nape of the neck by means of which a child could be employed for the purpose of making the image speak when it was so desired.[2]

Coming to more modern times, we have the story of the Dominican, Giacomo Bianconi, whose crucifix suddenly exuded blood and sprayed his hands and face. He was born in 1220 and died in August 1301, and if the reader wishes to know more of his life he must consult the *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., IV, pp. 719–28, or one of the more popular biographies.

Passing down the centuries, we must, I think, pause in 1484 to see what was going on in Prato only a few years before the image of Our Lady began to weep and talk in Berne. For in that ancient haven of artists near Florence a strange event occurred on the morning of July 6. At about nine o'clock on that hot summer morning a "most beautiful small boy, fair, pure and simple as a little angel", as the record[3] puts it, was favoured with the sight of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin, and ran home to tell his mother about it.

Some time afterwards another child of thirteen was similarly favoured; and the news of what was happening began to be bruited abroad. Now, in Prato there was a beautiful picture of the Virgin and Child, crowned and resplendent, and the people paid homage to Our Lady by going to the picture and kneeling before it. Whether they suspected what was going to happen I do not know, but before long it was noticed that the face of the Virgin seemed to be transfigured, the eyes began to open and shut and to shed natural tears.

The miracle excited intense interest, and the picture was visited by many civic notables and religious dignitaries. At varying intervals over a space of some two years or more the picture was seen to be thus transfigured, and then the phenomenon seemed to die away and nothing more was heard of it.[4]

[1] See for example G. Maspero, "Les Statues parlantes dans l'Egypte antique" (*Jour. de Débats*, December 21, 1898, 110 Année, nr. 352): G. Foucart, "Divination" (*Encycl. of Rel. & Ethics*, 1911, iv, pp. 792-96): P. Garnault, "Histoire de Sciences. Ventriloquie, necromancie . . ." (*Rev. scientifique*, 1900, 4 Série, xiii, pp. 643-55).

[2] See C. de Vesme, *History of experimental spiritualism* (London, 1931), Vol. II, p. 237.

[3] *Ristretto delle Memorie della Citta di Prato* (Firenze, 1774), p. 68. The book is attributed to A. Baldanzi.

[4] Cf. also the account in G. Gumppenberg's *Atlas Marianus* (Monachii, 1672), pp. 441-43, or his *Atlante Mariano* (Verona, 1839–1847), VI, pp. 409 ff.

It would be impossible here even to list the records of the various crucifixes that oozed blood, moved or otherwise behaved in strange ways. We have seen how Bianconi's cross spurted blood, and there are many other stories of similar occurrences with other holy persons. The crucifix of St. Camillus was animated and the figure both moved and spoke to him; at the friary of St. Dominic in Naples the crucifix was similarly heard to speak; St. Thomas of Villeneuve was encouraged by his crucifix; and St. Paul of the Cross is credited with being responsible for the emission of a stream of bluish sweat from a crucifix in Terra del Piagaro, in Umbria; and in Goa at the House of St. Monica there was a bleeding and talking crucifix in 1636 the story of which was related to Bishop Michael Rangel by the Prioress herself (*see* E. Francisci, *Die lustige Schau-Bühne von allerhand Curiositäten* (Nürnberg, 1674–84), Th. ii, pp. 520 ff.).

During the period of the Reformation in England it is said that fraudulent devices for making alleged miraculous images move were discovered, and that then the image was removed and destroyed. One of the best-known of these was the crucifix at Boxley, Kent, which in 1538 was destroyed in London after having been exhibited by the Bishop of Rochester. "It was observed," wrote G. Burnet in his *The History of the Reformation in England* (London 1679–1681), I, Bk. iii, p. 242, "sometimes to bow, and to lift itself up, to shake, and to stir head, hands, and feet, to roul the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows." Before breaking it, the Bishop showed the springs "by which these motions were made".

In describing the same incident Thomas Fuller adds the fact that nothing was discovered whereby the image could be made to speak (see *The Church History of Great Britain* [London, 1655], Bk. vi, p. 333), and it is possible that the rood from St. Margaret Pattens destroyed the same year according to Stow's *Chronicles of England*, was of a similar kind.[1]

In 1796 there occurred in Italy what can be called without irreverence an epidemic of cases in which sacred pictures were seen to become animated and the figures portrayed thereon to move their eyes, smile and behave as if they were alive.

If we are to believe the records, the phenomena began in the church of St. Cyriacus in Ancona. On June 25 the Rev. N. Rinaldi observed with stupefaction that the eyes in a picture of Our Lady were moving and that the pupils were being elevated and depressed. Crowds flocked to see the miracle and were not disappointed. The event was noised abroad and soon a veritable spate of similar reports came to the ears of the ecclesiastical authorities. At least twenty-six pictures began to behave in the same singular manner, and a considerable concourse of people gathered in front of each. Testimony was taken from all sorts and conditions of persons who had observed the phenomena, and when it was all over an inquiry was instituted and numerous people were examined and questioned.

[1] Some modern examples, including one very ingenious "weeping" statue in Milan, were reported in certain sections of the Italian press at the time and reprinted (for what they were worth) in E. Xilesa's *Crimes, attentats et immoralités du clergé catholique* (Rome, 1870), pp. 94, 95.

As far as I am aware the documents in the process have never been printed in full, but the curious reader will find an abstract of them in a collection published in 1796 in Rome and put together by G. Marchetti entitled *De' Prodigj avvenuti in molte sacre Immagini*, of which a French translation was published in Hildesheim in 1797 and an English version by B. Rayment in London in 1801. It is true that some objections were made and, indeed, the miracles were so numerous that they excited the scorn of certain Protestant writers, one Bachelor of Arts of the University of Oxford going so far as to murmur something about a "winking Madonna", when considering these miraculous pictures in 1850. Doubtless his strictures were topical, for in May 1850 occurred the amazing phenomena in the church of Santa Clara at Rimini, where a picture of Our Lady began to behave in a way similar to those in 1796. The case excited immense interest: a commission was appointed and numbers of distinguished people gave evidence. Tests were applied, but the phenomena continued. People examined the picture through opera glasses, and actually threads were stretched across the eyes so as better to observe their movements.[1]

Twenty years later an even more astonishing phenomenon was observed at Soriano, near Mileto in Calabria. Here are to be found the ruins of the great Dominican friary, and in the September Commemoration of St. Dominic a famous statue of the Saint is exposed to veneration. On the fifteenth of that month the statue began to stir. It moved its arms as if engaged in preaching; it advanced and retired slightly; its face began to change, assuming at one moment a flushed appearance and then, as if the blood had left its cheeks, it became pale. An investigation was ordered and a commission appointed, which reported that the movements were undoubtedly miraculous. The four friars at Berne were avenged. This time nobody was accused of a gross fraud, and no explanation has ever been offered for so rare a phenomenon.

It will be observed that, like the famous moving statue of Our Lady at Mellheha in Malta, the figure never spoke or made any audible utterance. For some reason, which has yet to be explained, these extremely interesting forms of collective illusion, mixed with hallucination, seem limited in their scope, the same thing being noticed in many other examples of similar phenomena.[2]

In 1892 another remarkable case was reported from Campocavallo in the diocese of Osimo, made for ever famous by the aerial flights of that strange servant of God, St. Joseph of Copertino.[3] In a little chapel there was hung a picture of Our Lady, and one day some of those kneeling before it noticed that it was apparently sweating. The priest was immediately informed and verified the phenomenon, but was not prepared for what was to follow. For,

[1] See *Relazione del prodigio avvenuto nella sante immagine di Maria V. in Rimini* (Rimini, 1852), which is taken from the process on the case. Cf. *La Madone de Rimini* (Paris, 1850).

[2] See P. M. Rouard de Card, *Le Miracle de Saint Dominique à Soriano* (Paris, Louvain, 1871).

[3] See my *Some Human Oddities*, pp. 9 ff.

subsequent to the sweating, it was noticed that the eyes of the Madonna began to move, and the eyelids were raised and lowered.

By a happy coincidence the famous historian of the Dominicans, Fr. D. A. Mortier, whose opinion on the Jetzer case we have already quoted (see p. 90) happened to be in the neighbourhood, and went to see the holy picture. To his utter astonishment he observed the phenomenon both on his first and second visit, and willingly gave his evidence before the commission which had been appointed to report on the matter.[1] Even while he was observing so remarkable a prodigy, some ladies who were with him and who were full of expectancy and longing could see nothing whatever.

Were it not for the fact that the observers report that the movements were so often slow and deliberate one might be led to suppose that the illusion was a variation of the common example of seeing in a drawing of a certain transparent solid one of two aspects, the change taking place very rapidly as if switched on and off. On the other hand, it is possible that, in certain cases, the eyes and lids have been so painted that at times and under certain illumination the eyes appear to be open when the actual painting shows them quite, or almost, closed.

As the years went by, and the sophistication of the modern world began to penetrate into remote spots, it might have been thought that such phenomena would have slowly died out and the stories of the past become relegated to legend. But such was not the case, and the news from Limpias in 1919 again excited the attention of the psychological world. For in this spot, not far from Santander in Spain, there was noticed exactly the same kind of phenomenon that has been reported down the ages, and of which a few examples have been described above.

A large crucifix in the church was seen to move its eyes, change colour, and drops of blood were seen to run down the cheeks into the beard. Visitors poured into the place, and a careful record was taken. The phenomena were only seen by some, as was the case of the picture in Campocavallo; others saw nothing, although their attitude of hope and expectancy might have been thought to favour the emergence of all kinds of illusions. One of those not favoured by the sight was the parish priest himself.

Some attempt was made at the time to allow the present writer to visit Limpias and undertake some kind of investigation under the auspices of the proper authorities. Permission was, however, withheld, so I have no personal comments to offer. Clearly many points of extreme psychological interest were present, but so far many details have yet to receive any explanation.[2]

As the news of the moving crucifix of Limpias was being discussed in the

[1] See his *La Madone de Campocavallo* (Abbeville, 1893).

[2] See E. von Kleist, *Auffalende Erscheinungen an dem Christusbilde von Limpias* (Kirnach, etc., 1922): E. von Kleist, *The wonderful crucifix of Limpias* (London, 1922): A. de Palazuelo, *El santo Cristo de la Agonia de Limpias* (Madrid, 1920): and the important series of articles by Luis Urbano in *La Ciencia Tomista* from Sept. 1919 to January 1920. The serious student should consult many other sources which are easily found in the periodical literature of the time, and also glance at the survey by H. Thurston in his *Beauraing* (London, 1934).

journals of the day, reports were received in the summer of 1920 that images and pictures in the home of a man living in Templemore, near Tipperary in Ireland, had begun to bleed. They even began to do the same thing in the house of his sister-in-law. Pilgrims flocked to the scene; and other phenomena were reported like the movement of objects without apparent contact, and the mysterious renewal of water in a hollow of the mud floor of the room in which James Walsh, a boy of sixteen, was living, and whose presence seemed to have something to do with the phenomena. Certainly in this case there was little question of the appearances being due to illusion or hallucination. The water was real water: bottles of it were taken away by the faithful. Perhaps it was all adroit trickery.

Observers who were qualified to make a proper investigation seem not to have been there. If they had been present it may be that they would have been as puzzled as those who did try to investigate another case, which was going on at the same time as that of Templemore and which had been reported as early as 1911. I refer to that of the Abbé Vachère, or, as it is sometimes called, the bleeding pictures of Mirebeau.

On August 13, 1853, a son, Argence Clovis Césaire Vachère de Grateloup, was born to an ancient French family in Lencroître in the department of Vienne. Early in life he showed inclinations towards religion; and when he finally became a priest his sermons excited much fervour among those who listened to them. Gradually he became well known in Catholic circles and enjoyed the favour of the Pope, who granted him a number of special privileges.

During the years 1905 to 1908 Mgr. Vachère was in Rome. During his stay there he was the recipient of a couple of gifts which had previously belonged to two ladies to whom he had ministered during their last hours. One of these objects was a picture illustrating the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and the other was a little crucifix which had belonged to one Benedicta Frey, who was something of a seeress, and who had told him that wonderful things would happen to him which would cause him much suffering, but that the crucifix would console and sustain him in all his troubles.

On his return from Rome the Abbé retired to his own house at Mirebeau, near Poitiers, and here he arranged a little chapel for his own use where he stored a number of relics and to the wall of which he attached the picture of the Sacred Heart which had been given to him in Rome.

At half past six on the morning of September 8, 1911, the Abbé went to his chapel to say Mass. On glancing at the picture he noticed that the forehead of the Saviour was marked with some reddish stains. That same afternoon the marks were still there, and they were damp. On the following days a fresh exudation appeared to come from the head, heart and hands. The picture, it seemed, had begun to bleed, or at any rate what looked like blood was slowly oozing from its surface. This liquid, whatever it was, was so abundant that it flowed down the surface of the picture and had to be caught on a piece of clean linen or paper placed beneath it. Other phenomena soon followed.

On October 16 the Abbé noticed when saying Mass that the Host or consecrated wafer appeared as if stained with blood, and the picture, besides oozing blood, exhibited what seemed to be tears dripping from the eyes.

Such surprising events as these could hardly be kept secret, and pilgrims began to visit Mirebeau in order to venerate the sacred picture. After all, these things were not unknown. Sacred pictures and crucifixes had been reported as bleeding and weeping, moving their eyes and even speaking for hundreds of years, and as early as 1624 G. F. Astolfi had made an encyclopaedic survey of such phenomena from A.D. 53 to 1621.

So it was that, at first sight, the picture of the Abbé Vachère seemed merely to be one of a long stream of similar miraculous pictures and had nothing particularly striking or peculiar about it. But the ecclesiastical authorities knew better. They were fully aware of the hallucinatory quality of so many of these phenomena. They realized that, as a general rule, these manifestations were *subjective* and not *objective*. The actual substance of the picture or of the image remained unchanged and what was seen was the result of some obscure operation in the mind of the observers, although it was not denied that possibly this mysterious influence had a divine source. But when the phenomena were objective then they rightly scented imposture and at once regarded the affair with profound suspicion.

Towards the end of October the Abbé Vachère realized that the time had come to take some action. He had carefully recorded the events in his diary, including the words that only he had heard, and which, although clearly subjective in character, seemed to him to be proceeding from the picture. This is how the good man was accustomed to describe the occurrences.

> On Sunday, September 10 [he wrote], towards six o'clock in the morning, a member of my household and I noticed two fresh wounds in the middle and on the left-hand side of the forehead from which blood was oozing. On Monday, September 11 at about the same time another wound had formed on the left side of the forehead just where the hair began. Blood seemed to be welling out of this spot as if from a miniature spring. On Wednesday, September 13 at six in the evening a fourteen-year-old child, who had been left to watch over my house, informed me on my return home that a fresh flow of blood had been observed. On inspection I saw that the forehead was now covered with bleeding points from which bright red blood was flowing, and which remained liquid for three hours. From this day onwards the marks of a Crown of Thorns were clearly formed.

Acting on the promptings of his conscience, he informed Mgr. L. Humbrecht, the Bishop of Poitiers, of the extraordinary manifestations which were going on at Mirebeau. The Bishop promptly ordered him to hand over the picture. From the few official details that are available it seems that no phenomena were recorded as taking place so long as the picture was away from the proximity of the Abbé, for in December of the same year it was returned to him with the strict injunction not to display it further in the

private chapel. With this order the Abbé naturally complied, and the picture was now hung in the parlour of his house, but hardly was it in place when bleeding recommenced both from the picture and from the Hosts consecrated by the Abbé when saying Mass.

In 1913 the authorities again took action. For the second time the Abbé was instructed to hand over the picture, together with the stained altar-cloths and some little phials of blood that had been collected.

Interest was now increasing in the events at Mirebeau, and the treatment of the case at the hands of Bishop Humbrecht was not regarded with favour even in some ecclesiastical circles. Accordingly Mgr. Baumgarten and the Rev. Johann Bäumer, both of whom were well disposed towards the Abbé Vachère, went to Rome to seek an audience with the Pope. Both priests had become convinced of the reality of the phenomena, but when Mgr. Baumgarten laid the facts before the Pope the latter is said merely to have replied that the Abbé Vachère was a fraud. At this statement Mgr. Baumgarten was somewhat taken aback, but he ventured to ask the Pope on what grounds he made such a serious accusation. Pius X replied by saying that Bishop Humbrecht of Poitiers had told him that the manifestations occurring on the pictures were caused by the Abbé himself. Moreover, he added, when the priest was ordered to bring the picture to the Seminary where it could be examined and full precautions taken to exclude any fraud he had flatly refused to do so. To this assertion the two priests ventured to object, but the Pope concluded the interview by saying that the relevant papers had been sent to the Holy Office under the administration of which the matter rested.

It is not clear what opinion Bishop Humbrecht had formed as a result of his examination. But reports were current that he claimed to have discovered marks upon the picture which might have been made with a paint-brush, and which must have reminded him of the blobs of paint which were discovered on the weeping and talking image of sixteenth-century Berne.

The Abbé was not at all happy over the loss of his picture, but busied himself in helping to build some Stations of the Cross not far from his house. In a small cottage or shed which was used by the workmen he had pinned up another picture of the Sacred Heart similar to the one that had been seized by the Bishop, but somewhat smaller in size. What was his consternation when he was told by one of the workmen that this picture had also begun to bleed and to weep just as the former had done.

His position was clearly becoming increasingly difficult, and it was obvious that the ecclesiastical authorities were not ignorant of the later developments, for, acting on the information received from Bishop Humbrecht, the Holy Office decided on drastic action, and in the *Acta* of the Apostolic See there was published a decree dated April 22, 1914, whereby the Abbé Vachère was formally excommunicated. He was accused of disturbing the faithful through alleged supernatural manifestations and of refusing to conform to the admonitions of his Bishop. The authorities had decided to try to stop any further visits by

devout Catholics to Mirebeau since they pronounced the Abbé *vitandus*; that is to say they declared that he must be avoided by the faithful. It is, however, to be observed that they did not openly accuse either the Abbé or any confederate that it might be thought that he had employed of any kind of fraud or imposture. Neither did they make any inquiry on the spot. Their aim was clear. If they could not stop the Abbé's pictures and Hosts from bleeding, they could at least stop him from receiving visitors who went to venerate the sacred objects.

After the Abbé Vachère had been excommunicated his agitation was such that he retired to his bed, where he remained for some time unable to walk. But in May of the same year visitors again began to arrive, including a few Catholics who were not entirely satisfied that the attitude of Bishop Humbrecht towards the case was one which could be wholly approved. Among such visitors from England was the son of the eighth Earl of Denbigh, the Hon. F. H. E. J. Feilding, a member of one of the most distinguished Catholic families in England, who was one of the most acute investigators of alleged supernormal phenomena that this country has ever produced. On his arrival at Mirebeau he at once visited the little cottage with the Abbé and saw the picture, which had apparently been recently bleeding, as drops of what looked like blood and serum were found at its base. Mr. Feilding drew up some of the drops on to a clean handkerchief in order to await subsequent analysis. Returning to the private chapel, the Abbé then showed his distinguished guest some Hosts, all of which seemed to be heavily saturated with what again appeared to be blood.

On his return to England Mr. Feilding at once submitted the handkerchief to chemical analysis. The amount was, unfortunately, too small for the precise nature of the substance to be determined, but it was certain that it was *not* human blood.

With the outbreak of the First World War the bleeding pictures of Mirebeau were forgotten, although the Abbé was still causing much perturbation among both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, since it was suspected that the platform he had been erecting for the Stations of the Cross was in reality a gun-emplacement.

During the war—in 1915 to be precise—Mr. Feilding again went to Mirebeau. He found that the picture had been removed from the cottage and transferred to the chapel in the Abbé's house. It was covered with a wet, red substance resembling blood, and the effect was so striking that Mr. Feilding decided to stay for several days. On each occasion when he visited the chapel the picture was wet with "blood", although he had carefully dried it after each visit. Attempts to render impossible any interference by the Abbé with fraudulent intent failed, but he was successful in making contact with a level-headed man who lived in the village, and who had suspected that the Abbé was possibly implicated in a blasphemous fraud. Taking advantage of the priest's absence from home on one occasion, this man managed to get into the cottage,

but found the picture dry. Wishing to see if anything would happen as long as he remained in the room, he was rewarded by seeing a strange reddish liquid beginning to ooze from the surface of the picture and run down its face until it reached its base. For him scepticism was impossible. With his own eyes he had seen the "blood" apparently penetrating the surface of the oleograph after he had ascertained at the beginning that the picture was dry.

Unable to stay in Mirebeau any longer, Mr. Feilding arranged that a deputy should stay in the village during part of 1916 and 1917. She began her inquiry by visiting the Bishop, who, on being questioned, began by saying that there was nothing in it, but then confessed his belief that the phenomena were genuine but were due to Satanic agency. On her arrival at Mirebeau she was lucky enough to see the substance flowing from the picture in such quantities that pieces of linen placed beneath it were soaked; and later she actually assisted the Abbé to draw the blood from the picture for the purpose of staining some little talismans which were sent to the French troops. It appeared that the substance oozed, as it were, from pores in the surface of the picture, formed scabs, and then from under these scabs it was possible to draw out the liquid as required.

In January 1920 Mr. Feilding returned to Mirebeau. The picture was still bleeding. Indeed, further developments had occurred, since a small statue of the Infant Saviour which had been taken into the chapel had also begun to bleed. Sufficient of the material was this time obtained for a better chemical analysis to be made; and the consultant who had previously examined the earlier specimens was again called in to pronounce a verdict. This time both the chemist and an independent consultant reported that the substance was actually (or at least contained) human blood belonging to one of the well-recognized blood groups.

On the result of the analysis being declared, Mr. Feilding set about trying to organize some kind of investigation while there was still time. His attempts to influence ecclesiastics on a high level were fruitless. He was met with a wall of opposition; and little success attended his efforts in other directions. Meanwhile the Abbé Vachère had not been idle. He was determined to rehabilitate himself and several times he went to Rome to seek an audience with the Pope. In this he was not successful, so on May 27, 1920, he addressed a letter to the Holy Office protesting in emphatic terms against the defamation of his character by Bishop Humbrecht, who had circulated his accusations without undertaking any inquiry on the spot. The decree excommunicating him and rendering him *vitandus* was, he went on, founded upon lies and could only be called, therefore, outrageous. Why, he continued, had all his letters remained unanswered? He had done all that he had been asked to do. When he complained he was referred back to his Bishop! Since when, the Abbé went on, has the victim asked the executioner to intercede for him? It was Rome which had condemned him and it must be for Rome to absolve him.

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Church would do nothing itself, neither did it favour anyone else attempting to act independently. In the following June the Abbé accepted an invitation to visit Aix-la-Chapelle in order to see some of his friends who wished to meet him in spite of the ban put upon him by the Catholic authorities. Among those whom he had come to see was Mrs. Rompen, a widow, who had put two rooms at his disposal in her house where he could meet the numerous people whom she had invited to talk with him. Hardly had he arrived than the household learnt with amazement that a small statue exhibiting the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and which belonged to his hostess, and also a sacred picture, had begun to bleed just like the objects which the Abbé had left behind in Mirebeau. The fluid was at once submitted to chemical analysis and, as before, was found to be human blood. Drops seemed to ooze out of the solid substance of the image and then flow down to its base, thus forming little pools which were sometimes sufficient to fill three-quarters of an egg-cup. Tears, or what appeared to be such, were also formed on the eyes, and the flow persisted for anything up to an hour, then ceasing and the blood coagulating and forming lumpy particles.

One of the eye-witnesses, Mr. Jean Scheuer, who was responsible for forwarding some of the blood to an analytical chemist in Saarbrücken, described the bleeding as follows.

> On the morning of June 9 between nine and ten o'clock I saw the bleeding begin again, but more abundantly than on the previous day. It ran down from the forehead, heart and hands as if from a clear little spring and in such quantities that it moistened the marble slab on which the image rested and a cloth had to be put beneath it to catch the fluid. Tears also were abundant and mingled with the descending streams of blood, the whole phenomenon lasting about half an hour.

In a later deposition Mr. Scheuer stated that on several occasions he had seen the picture when it was dry and had tested it with his finger, and then he had actually seen the blood begin to ooze while he was watching it.

Day after day passed and the case excited immense interest. The bleeding image was carefully examined, but no normal explanation could be found for its mysterious behaviour, and on the Abbé's departure from Aix-la-Chapelle the blood ceased to flow. Numerous explanations were offered in the Press, such as the use of some chemical substance or the operations of some fungus. But those who had been eye-witnesses of the events dismissed all such theories with impatience. Indeed, one of them, a local legal official, was so convinced that a proper inquiry was desirable that he approached certain of the high-ranking ecclesiastical dignitaries of the city, requesting them to get in touch with Cardinal C. G. Schulte of Cologne. Nothing came of his intervention, however, since the local clergy were not, it seemed, competent to interfere where the case of an excommunicated priest was in question. What had already been done was, the Cardinal thought, sufficient and appropriate under the circumstances, and he confirmed his opinion in a telegram in which it was

pointed out that the excommunication of the Abbé Vachère had been pronounced owing to his exhibiting the bloodstained objects and that all intercourse with the person in question was strictly forbidden.

The office of the State Attorney then took action. Mrs. Rompen was accused of participating in a fraud of which the precise nature was not disclosed, but the case could not be proceeded with owing to the lack of witnesses. Both the picture and the statue were surreptitiously removed from Mrs. Rompen's house and handed over to the archiepiscopal office in Cologne, from which they were recovered only through the intervention of Mrs. Rompen's legal representative.

When the Abbé Vachère had returned to his house in Mirebeau he wrote two letters to the Archbishop of Cologne. They are bitter documents, full of self-righteousness and self-pity. It was true, the Abbé said, that he had been excommunicated, but this was to the shame of those who, like the Archbishop himself, had knowingly deceived the Church without previous inquiry. After the facts had been demonstrated as they had been at Aix-la-Chapelle, surely an investigation was necessary. The contrary opinion could only be held by persons already satisfied with the honours which had been heaped upon them and who were little inclined to examine or interest themselves in supernatural facts and all the more so since they did not believe in them. Finally the Abbé again begged for an impartial investigation.

Such letters as these were hardly likely to appeal to Catholic prelates, coming as they did from a man who had been excommunicated. It must have seemed clear to them that, in the words of Cardinal Merry del Val, the Abbé was a little—well, *toqué*, and the less said about it all the better.

Early in July 1921 the Abbé Vachère seemed to be not the same active and energetic man that had visited Aix-la-Chapelle the year before. He was tired and emotionally disturbed, and his friends were hardly surprised when they learnt that on July 17 he was struck down by apoplexy, from which he never rallied. With the death of the Abbé Vachère the pictures and images ceased to bleed. His possessions passed into the hands of a female relative, who preserved them intact, hoping against hope that something might still be done to restore his reputation. All was in vain. She herself died in 1937, and the property was dispersed. The mystery of the bleeding pictures of Mirebeau remained unsolved.

What was the secret of the Abbé Vachère? There seem to me to be only four possible solutions to this fantastic mystery. (1) The Abbé was himself consciously producing the phenomena by surreptitiously smearing the objects or spraying them with the substance, thus indulging in a blasphemous and profane farce for reasons known only to himself. (2) The Abbé was responsible, but in a condition of mental dissociation. It is clear that at times he showed symptoms of such a state, as when he listened to the Voice of the Good Master, which poured forth lamentations over the sins of France and of her priests.

Thus if we feel inclined to accept this solution to the mystery we must

suppose that the Abbé lived with a perpetual shifting of personalities, one of which was responsible for the phenomena, whilst the other was totally ignorant of the mode of their production. These states are not unknown, and I strongly suspect that such is the true explanation of the amazing phenomena which occurred with the Curé of Ars (Saint Jean B. M. Vianney, 1785–1859), where a sacred picture was defiled in a most unpleasant manner. If this be so, then we must discount much of the testimony given by eye-witnesses, such as the gradual flow of the substance when under continuous observation in amounts sufficient to fill three-quarters of an egg-cup. (3) The phenomena were produced by a confederate without the knowledge of the Abbé or perhaps possibly with his knowledge and consent. (4) The phenomena were genuine; that is to say due to some supernormal action the nature of which we know nothing.

Of these four possibilities the second seems to me to raise the least objections, although it has to be admitted that there is practically no valid evidence whatever to support it. Certainly the Church did not seem disposed to consider any theory but the first, although the authorities apparently could not produce a single witness who at any time was prepared to come forward and swear that the Abbé had perpetrated any kind or sort of fraud when under direct observation. It is true that suspicious circumstances were not wholly lacking, but these never amounted to proof of the Abbé's complicity. The case remains a baffling riddle, eluding every attempt at reasonable explanation.[1]

Were it not for the fact that we possess official records and reliable contemporary sources for the history of Jetzer and the haunted friary at Berne it might be difficult to believe that such events could ever have taken place in a city in the centre of Europe in the early sixteenth century. For those of my readers, therefore, who like to know on what authority statements are made I propose very briefly saying something about the original sources.

Three main sources to which we are indebted for the history of Jetzer are:

(*a*) *Defensorium impiae falsitatis a quibusdam pseudopatribus ordinis Praedicatorū excogitatum principaliter contra mundissimā superbenedictae virginis Mariae conceptionē.*

The pamphlet was issued without any place of publication or date, but it was probably in print before the middle of 1509 and was almost certainly issued with the help of Thomas Murner, the Franciscan who was at Berne at the time. This work is exceedingly scarce and was reprinted by R. Steck in his "Die Akten des Jetzerprozesses" (*Quellen z. Schweiz. Geschichte*, 1904, xxii, pp. 539-607). Parts of the book are almost without doubt drawn from notes

[1] See *Transactions of the Fourth International Congress for Psychical Research*, Athens, 1930 (London, 1930), pp. 129-144; H. Birven, *Abbé Vachère* (Brandenburg, 1928); K. Aram, *Magie und Mystik* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 573 ff., etc.

or diaries made by the Prior and by Dr. Wernher, the Prior of Basel, and it is from these notes that many supporters of the friars as against Jetzer draw their conclusions. Further information on this work will be found in G. E. von Haller's *Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte*, 3er Theil (Bern, 1786), nr. 43, p. 21; G. Schuhmann, "Die Berner Jetzertragödie im Lichte der neueren Forschung und Kritik" (*Erl. u. Erg. zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, Freiburg im Breslau, 1912, ix, Heft 3): T. von. Liebenau, "Der Franziskaner, Dr. Thomas Murner" (*Erl. u. Erg.*, etc., 1913, ix, Heft. 4 and 5); and N. E. Paulus, "Ein Justizmord an vier Dominikaner begangen" (*Frankf. zeitgemässe Broschüren*, N.F., xviii, 1897, pp. 65-106), pp. 70-73, an earlier writer and strong opponent of the old view that the friars were guilty and that Jetzer was their innocent victim.

An edition in the German language of the *Defensorium* appeared soon afterwards, and although it is without place or date is usually ascribed by scholars to 1509, and was probably printed in Strasburg. It is entitled *Ein erdocht falsch History etlicher Prediger-Münnch, wie sye mit eim Bruder verhandelt haben.* It was issued in seventy-four pages with fourteen woodcuts probably executed by U. Graf of Basel. Further details will be found in Haller, *op. cit.*, nr. 40, p. 19; R. Steck, *Die Akten*, etc., p. 15, and for Graf see E. His, "Urs Graf" (*Jahrb. f. Kunstwiss*, 1873, *Jahrg* V, pp. 257-62; Jahrg VI, pp. 145-87).

(*b*) The original Latin records of the trials. These were collected in part by G. Rettig and published in 1886 in the *Archiv d. hist. Ver. d. Kantons Bern*, xi, pp. 179–248; 275–344; 500–566, under the title of *Die Urkunden des Jetzerprozesses.* Rettig was in favour of the friars and against Jetzer. He is somewhat biased, and suspected that the erroneous and unjust decision of the court was due to a desire to conceal worse things (*um Schlimmeres zu verhüten*); see p. 196.

In 1904 R. Steck collected the documents together and published them with the *Defensorium* as mentioned above.

It appears that the original documents were sent to Rome when the papal commissioner left Berne, but a copy was left in Berne, and it is this copy, now in the Berne State Archives, that Steck has used. The copy in Rome, it seems, has not yet been found, although I am not fully informed on this point. A full account of these papers will be found in Steck's reprint, pp. lii ff.

(*c*) Thomas Murner's contributions to the case and the records of contemporary chroniclers.

It was in the spring of 1509 that Murner came to Berne, and his first contribution to the case was probably published the same year. It was in Latin and entitled *De quattuor heresiarchis ordinis Praedicatorum de Obseruantia nuncupatorum apud Suitenses in ciuitate Bernensi cōbustis.* It was often reprinted, as, for example, by J. H. Hottinger in part five of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*

(Tiguri, 1655), pp. 334 ff., but these later editions should be used with caution. The original edition was dedicated to Dr. J. Schott and embellished with fourteen woodcuts by Graf.

A number of pamphlets, drawn largely from the work, were later published, of which the *Historia mirabilis quattuor Heresiarcharum*, with woodcuts but without place of publication or date, is an example. Another important book of the same kind is Murner's *Von den vier ketzeren Prediger ordēs der obseruantz zu Bern im Schwytzerland verbrannt*, without place or date, but probably printed in Strasburg in 1511 and having a frontispiece showing the friars being burnt. A later edition of 1523 followed, and this was succeeded by a whole series of versions for details of which the reader must consult the works of Steck, Schuhmann, Liebenau and Haller mentioned above, while C. E. P. Wackernagel's *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im xvi Jahrhundert* (Frankfort a. M., 1855), nrs. 38–41, 45, 46, 199, can be used with advantage.

It was not long before literature emanating from Protestant sources began to be issued. Murner's works were reissued with the expected appropriate embellishments, and in 1551 appeared at Magdeburg the *Historia und warhaffte Geschichte der vier Kätzer Mönch Prediger-Ordens* . . . with six cuts which had not appeared in the *Historia mirabilis*. Interest in such an acute controversy naturally excited the attention of foreign students, and so in 1566 there appeared in Geneva the *Recueil entier des procédures tenues à Berne contre quelques Jacopins* . . . which was translated by the son of the painter, Niklaus Manuel.

The story in Dutch, *Historie der Predicker Monnicken tot Bern in Svvitzerlandt*, drawn largely from Stettler, appeared in 1651; and in London, in 1679, was published an anti-Catholic account by the informer, Sir William Waller (†1699), under the title of *The Tragical History of Jetzer*, in which the author made use not only of the German version of the affair but also of some of the original archives in Berne. Later editions of this work were published in 1680, and the story was also told in Italian and edited by C. Sola when he issued his *Storia di fra Jetzer* in Milano in 1874. Further details of the earlier works can be found in Haller and in the other authors recorded above, and cf. C. Grüneisen, *Niclaus Manuel* (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1837), pp. 297 ff.

Of the works of contemporary chroniclers by far the most important is that by Anshelm, or more properly Valerius Rüd. He was born in 1475 and studied in Cracow, Tübingen, Lyon and Berne. In 1529 he was appointed a chronicler of Berne, where he worked on the records until his death towards 1540, and the result of his labours has long been recognized as a chronicle of exceptional merit and trustworthiness. In 1508 he was medical officer at Berne, and it is quite possible that, since he gave witness at the trials, he was himself present at times in the friary when the affair was actually in progress and may have attended at Jetzer's examination by the Bishop of Lausanne.

In his *Berner Chronik* (Bern, 1884–1901) he gives a vivid account of the whole affair, but, as Steck has pointed out, he was a child of his time and lacked that critical judgment which is expected of a modern writer.

Among other chroniclers of some note are Diebold Schilling, the son of Johann Schilling of Soleure, who was born about 1460 and died in 1520, and who may also have been an eye-witness of some of the events at Berne. His *Schweizer-Chronik* was published in Lucerne in 1862 and is an independent version of some merit. Sebastian Franck's *Chronica, Zeitbuch unnd Geschichtbibell* was published in two parts in Ulm in 1536, and something on the Jetzer affair will be found on pp. 255–60 of the first part. J. Stumpf's *Gemeiner löblicher Eydgenossenschaft Stetten, Landen vnd Völckeren Chronick wirdiger Thaaten Beschreybung* (Zürych, 1548) was issued in two volumes, and a few words on Jetzer will be found on pp. 455–59 of the second volume. It does not contain anything of outstanding interest, and a French version of the part relating to Jetzer was published in 1549 entitled *Histoire veritable . . . de quatre Jacopins de Berne . . . qui y furent brulez*, which was published in 1549 by F. Bonivard, and which was reprinted in Geneva in 1867 under the editorship of G. Revilliod.

Another important source was contributed by M. Stettler (1580–1642). He was an official chronicler and had the legal documents at his disposal. Like that of Anshelm it is a valuable record, and he became the recognized authority for those coming after him. He was probably the greatest historian of Berne in his time, and his work should be used side by side with the trial documents and with Anshelm, and for the present work I have used the version entitled *Schweitzer Chronic*, which was published in two volumes without place or date but which probably appeared in Berne about 1631. A much abridged version of the account of the Jetzer affair drawn from Stettler was that of J. J. Lauffer's *Genaue und umständliche Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte* (Zurich, 1737), where the relevant portion will be found in the second part of the seventh part, pp. 58 ff. It will be noted that on p. 59 the author shows that he accepts, like his predecessors, the story of the Wimpfen plot. Another short account was that by C. Luthard, namely *Disputationis Bernensis seu decem conclusionum in disputatione Bernae Helv. Anno MDXXIX* (Bernae, 1660), where the relevant portion will be found on pp. 66 ff.

Later general accounts from various points of view may be found in F. Haffner's *Der klein Solothurner, allgemeine Schaw-Platz* (Solothurn, 1666), Th. ii, p. 198; C. Lang's *Historisch-theologischer Grund-Riss der alt-und jeweiligen Christlichen Welt* (Einsidlen, 1692), I, pp. 699–702; H. J. Leu's *Allgemeines Helvetisches, Eydgenössisches, oder Schweitzerisches Lexicon* (Zürich 1747–1765), Th. xi, pp. 534 ff.; Bishop G. Burnet's *Some Letters* (Amsterdam, 1686), from which I have quoted in the text; A. Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation* (Genève, 1727–1728), VI, pp. 365–630; *Die Jetzergeschichte zu Bern* (Bern, 1843); J. J. von Görres, *La Mystique divine* (Paris, 1854–1855), IV, pp. 130 ff., and D. A. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre*

des Frères Prêcheurs (Paris, 1903–1920), V., pp. 184–91, who thought that it was difficult to believe in the entire innocence of the friars. Certainly, he wrote, Jetzer may have been guilty of "grave frauds, clever trickery and scandalous imposture", but were the theological questions involved really beyond him? Were the friars, he asked, his accomplices, and if so to what degree? To doubt their complicity in part, Mortier concluded, is difficult.

In the third volume of his *La Magie et la Sorcellerie en France* (Paris, 1912) T. de Cauzons sums up the affair, but is cautious in coming to any conclusion.

It was early in the twentieth century that writers began to wonder whether some of the earlier nineteenth-century authors like Paulus and Rettig were not perhaps justified in their view that the execution of the four Dominicans was a mistake, and that the events in the haunted friary were entirely due to the rascality of Jetzer with or without accomplices.

In 1901 Professor R. Steck (who was later to reprint the *Defensorium* and give us the documents of the trials) contributed a paper to the *Schweizer Theol. Ztschr*, xviii, pp. 13–29; 65–91, which was entitled "*Der Berner Jetzerprozess (1507–1509) in neuer Beleuchtung nebst Mitteilungen aus den noch ungedruckten Akten*" and which was issued in Berne in 1902. It aroused much interest, since the author obviously inclined to the view that a miscarriage of justice had occurred and that the four friars were innocent. The article was reviewed and criticized in a number of journals. For example, R. Reuss in a paper published in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1902, xlvi, 426–29 showed that he was not convinced by the arguments of either Paulus or Steck; and although he realized that Jetzer was an arrant rascal (*fieffé coquin*, p. 428), he found it difficult to believe that the friars could have been so easily taken in, and inclined to the view that all five were engaged in the fraud and then turned on one another when the game was up, pointing out that, after all, the Pope himself approved the sentence.

Another reviewer, "J.W." in the *Protestantische Monatshefte* (1902, 6. Jahrg., Heft 5, pp. 203–4), was wholly unconvinced. To him the friars were guilty of a gross fraud (*krassen Betrug*); and similarly "N.P." in the *Historisches Jahrbuch* (1902), xxiii, pp. 151–52 pointed out how the guilt of the four Dominicans had been accepted for four centuries. He apparently agreed with Steck, however, that the general opinion might need revision and that the court was probably unduly influenced by the civic authorities and by popular clamour, so that it is possible that the friars ought to have been acquitted on the main charges.

Steck's edition of the official documents followed in 1904, as we have already seen, and in the following year he contributed an interesting paper ("Kulturgeschichtliches aus den Akten des Jetzerprozesses" (*Blätter f. bern. Ges., Kunst u. Altertumskunde*, I, pp. 161–86)) in which he admitted that there still remained much that was obscure in the case. For instance, Steck believed that Jetzer's simulation of the Passion could not be attributed merely to the

effects of some potion, but may have had elements of a psychological or even hypnotic nature, since it appears that he acted his part, at least on one occasion, when he had been given nothing to drink.[1]

From 1908 appeared a few more papers in which the innocence of the friars was sometimes emphasized at the expense of Jetzer. A. Lechner published a paper, "Zur Jetzergeschichte", in the *Blätter f. bern. Geschichte*, etc. (Jahrg. IV, pp. 47–49), following it the same year (pp. 201–08) with one entitled "Zum Jetzerprozess". He suggested (p. 49) that the friars may have used Jetzer for their own ends, although he regards the story that the whole affair was arranged at Wimpfen as a fiction (p. 204). Other writers who have briefly discussed or mentioned this story are P. Reboulet and J. de Labrune, *Voyage de Suisse* (La Haye, 1686), Pt. I, p. 64; C. Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 20; and G. E. Steitz, "Der Streit über die unbefleckte Empfängniss der Maria zu Frankfort a. M. im Jahre 1500 und sein Nachspiel in Bern 1509" (*Archiv f. Frankf. Geschichite*, 1877, N.F., vi. pp. 8–35).

In 1909 Georg Schuhmann, presumably a South German Catholic, came to the support of the four Dominicans in his "Die grosse Disputation zu Bern", (*Ztschr. f. Schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, 1909, III Jahrg., pp. 81–101; 210–15; 241–74), which was discussed and criticized somewhat severely by Steck in his "Ein katholisches Urteil über die Berner-Disputation von 1528" (*Schweizerische Theol. Ztschr.*, 1910, xxvii, Jahrg., pp. 193–212).

The material listed above constitutes the principal sources for the Jetzer case. Further bibliographical aids, especially for the earlier printed sources, will be found in the standard reference books and need not be entered here. For details concerning Murner's part in the case see G. Schuhmann's "Thomas Murner und die Berner Jetzertragödie" (*Ztschr. f. Schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, 1908, II, Jahrg., pp. 1–30; 114–30), and the work by Liebenau mentioned above. For Schiner see A. Büchi's *Kardinal Matthäus Schiner als Staatsmann und Kirchenfürst* (Zürich, etc., 1923–1937), and for his correspondence see the *Quellen z. Schweiz. Geschichte*, 1920–1925, N.F., v, vi, Abt. 3.

Readers interested in Zurzach, Jetzer's birthplace, are referred to J. C. Fuesslin's *Staats-und Erdbeschreibung der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (Schafhausen, 1770–1772), Th. iv, p. 85; J. Huber, *Des Stiftes Zurzach Schicksale* (Luzern, 1879); and H. Amman, "Nachträge zur Geschichte der Zurzacher Messen im Mittelalter" (*Argovia*, 1936), xlviii, pp. 101–24; whilst the fairs are also dealt with in the *Taschenbuch d. hist. Gesellschaft des Kantons Aargau* for 1898.

Details concerning the history of the haunted friary will be found in A. Jahn's *Chronik . . . des Kantons Bern* (Bern, Zürich, 1857), p. 167; E. F. von Muehlinen's *Helvetia Sacra* (Bern, 1858–61), Th. ii, pp. 17 ff., and

[1] See *Akten*, p. 215. There seems some evidence that the Subprior and perhaps also the Prior exercised a curious influence over Jetzer which now and then caused a state of immobility. During the revision hearings the Lector said that the "supprior tunc suo exorcissimo faciebat Jetzer immobilem" (*Akten*, p. 428), and cf. the account of the Passion act by the Prior under torture (*Akten*, p. 304), and by Murer (*Akten*, p. 392).

fuller references are included in R. Steck's *Kulturgeschichtliches aus den Akten des Jetzerprozesses*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 162–63; whilst a note on the legal aspect will be found in K. Stoos's "Eine Episode der Jetzerprozesses" (*Schweiz. Ztschr. f. Strafrecht*, 1902, Jahrg. 15, pp. 115–29; 1904, Jahrg. 17 pp. 335–40).

III. St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi

SHE WHO GOT SLAPPED

IN THE year 1560 Camillo Geri de' Pazzi, a member of one of the branches of the famous and aristocratic Pazzi family of Florence, married one Maria di Lorenzo Buondelmonti, and a year later their first son was born. Two others followed of which one (Braccio) died young, whilst the other grew up under the shelter of the parental roof. It was on April 2, 1566, that their only daughter was born, and they gave her as her baptismal name that of Caterina, perhaps because they were thinking of the famous Caterina of Siena.

It is not easy at the present time to estimate the value of the various accounts which have been preserved of Caterina's childhood, for they are naturally highly coloured by reason of the course of her later life. But there seems enough evidence for us to assume that the child, like so many others destined for the religious life, grew up without showing many of those characteristics natural to the young. Her parents were both devout Catholics and brought up their children in accordance with their own views, and this teaching seems to have been carried on by at least one of their sons, Geri, whose four daughters all followed one another into the convent. So it was that instead of indulging in childish amusements and games with her brothers and their friends, Caterina, like Swedenborg, preferred to listen to her mother discussing religious topics with her acquaintances, and before she was ten she began to join in the conversation, delighting in the mystery of the Trinity and even in the creed of St. Athanasius.

It must be remarked, however, that even at that early age Caterina began to display that skill at getting her own way which was to become one of the most marked features of her character. Her pious biographers, whilst insisting on her perfect obedience, have fortunately recorded an incident in her childhood which casts grave doubts on the accuracy of their estimate of this side of her behaviour.

One day, whilst her mother and her aunt, Margherita Panciatici de' Buondelmonti, were talking on religious matters, she came and sat with them in order to listen to their conversation, but was rightly told by her mother to run away and go for a walk. Obediently she left them, but soon slipped back and, having got her own way, was suffered to remain. It was this pertinacity in getting what she wanted that we find continually illustrated throughout the whole of Caterina's life. If she were resisted, then she would soon find some way of overcoming that resistance, and at the same time make those who were against her feel that they and not she might be in the wrong.

Before she was twelve Caterina was already so engrossed in religious

thoughts and practices that her future vocation was obvious. For not only did she begin the usual infliction of fasting upon herself, sitting at table and watching others enjoying the good things—a singularly irritating habit—but she began to look reproachfully at friends and acquaintances when swearing was to be heard, and made herself a difficult companion with whom to share the affairs of everyday life.

During the summer months it was the custom of the family to leave behind them the hot streets of Florence and go out into the country, and whilst there Caterina got hold of some of the village children and actually began to teach them the mysteries of Christian doctrine. It is easy to understand how bored and annoyed the children must have been at having to tolerate the attentions of the rich little good girl, but their irritation was, it seems, partially assuaged by presents of money and handkerchiefs which she gave to them.

As the months went by and it came to going back to Florence, Caterina had one of her usual weeping fits at having to relinquish her self-imposed task of teaching; and in order to soften the blow her parents arranged that the little daughter of one of their workmen should go back with them to the city, and suffer still further instruction from Caterina.

It was at some time before her tenth year that the precocious child discovered a mode of tormenting herself which satisfied not only the yearning of her soul, but also perhaps those now beginning to stir in her body. For it was at this time that "withdrawing into the most secret part of the house",[1] she began to whip herself, and with this practice there soon followed other devices for self-punishment such as a home-made crown of thorns and a prickly belt, which she tied round her body before going to bed. Fortunately, her mother found out what was going on and forced the future saint to sleep in her room, an arrangement which, it seems, Caterina found no means of evading even if she had really wished to do so.

On March 25, 1576, when she was ten years old, Caterina received her first communion and the same year she made a vow of virginity and perpetual chastity, which rather suggests that she must have been a remarkably precocious child and withal a somewhat unpleasant one.

In 1580 Caterina's father was appointed governor of the city of Cortona in Tuscany, and so it happened that the girl, now well into puberty, was allowed to enter the convent of San Giovannino as a pensioner, it being agreed between the Superior and the Pazzis' confessor that she should be allowed to communicate every Sunday and feast-day in accordance with her own desires. This arrangement, however, was questioned on Caterina's arrival, as it was not the custom of the house to receive the Sacrament so frequently, but as usual Caterina got her own way, and actually suggested that she was being

[1] V. Puccini writes "*et in aedium latebris abdita, flagellabat tenellum corpus*" (*Acta Sanctorum*, 1866 ed. . . . Maii, VI, 182A), or "*ne' luoghi più segreti della casa*" (*Vita della ven. Madre Suor Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Napoli, 1652), p. 3). V. Cepari thus expresses it: "*in loco abdito seso flagellabat*" (A.S., *loc. cit.*, 250A) or "*e talora nascondendos in luoghi remoti, si dava la disciplina*" (*Vita della seraphica vergine S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Prato, 1884), p. 30).

allowed thus to suffer resistance in order to give God pleasure. Moreover, she hardly spoke to her fellow pensioners, continued her whippings and physical austerities, and by the time that fifteen months had passed she was so weak that she could hardly pull a needle out of a tough piece of material.

It was, of course, natural that she became the talk of the whole convent, and as she insisted on helping to make the beds and sweep the rooms she must have got in everybody's way, although it was doubtless always thought possible that this annoying behaviour was but the prelude to a life of sanctity, which might do honour to the house and redound to the glory of God.

When her mother came to fetch her away she found Caterina a physical wreck. The girl was immediately placed in the hands of physicians, who prescribed country air and a tonic. The truth regarding the reasons for her condition was soon made known, and thus Caterina was again able to enjoy her exhibitionistic tendencies which were rapidly developing. She used to take long walks in the country, but her spiritual condition did not permit of her going with her friends or brothers. They had to follow meekly behind, while she went on in front, praying and saying the rosary, and then returning to her room, where she continued her devotions.

It was soon after coming back from the convent that she realized that her parents were beginning to look forward to her betrothal and to her future acceptance of her social responsibilities. She therefore anticipated their approaches by telling her father that she was destined for religion and would rather lose her head than take any other spouse but Jesus. Her father was naturally dismayed by this announcement, but thought it better not to create a scene, and to leave the field clear for his wife and her female acquaintances, one of whom ridiculed Caterina and made every effort to divert her from her purpose, for she may have seen what was brewing, and shrewdly realized that what the girl would most need in later years was a strong young husband and a large family.

It was soon clear that her mother was not to be disposed of as easily as her father had been, so Caterina, true to her usual methods, began to make herself intolerable to live with, and to do everything she could to annoy and distress her mother. It was through this "holy astuteness" (*santa astuzia* as Cepari calls it) that Caterina hoped to wear down her mother's resistance to her desires so that she might at last embrace the conventual life which she was hoping to enjoy for the rest of her days.

One day her mother, thinking that she might like to visit the convent where she had been a pensioner, gave her a pretty white frock to wear for the occasion. One of the nuns, supposing that she was going to be married, began to talk about the future event, but Caterina was so horrified at the thought that she almost fainted away, and had to be supported lest she should fall.

It was obvious that the girl was already well on the way towards becoming a confirmed neurotic with pronounced symptoms; and it is possible that this incident at the convent grille was sufficient to suggest to her mother that she

ought no longer to resist the wishes of her importunate child. On the other hand, some may not be able to prevent themselves from wondering whether this incipient swoon was not perhaps a little bit of play-acting designed for just such a purpose.

Thus it was that at the age of sixteen Caterina entered the Carmelite monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence as a probationer, a house in which the daughters of many noble families thought to find refuge from the world and from themselves.

After her ten days' trial Caterina left the monastery and remained at home for three months before she made her final decision. She immediately began her former life of simplicity and devotion, and her parents soon realized that all their hopes were destined to be blasted. So on December 1, 1582, Caterina returned to the monastery, intending never again to take any part in worldly activities. Before, however, her parents agreed to relinquish any claims on her they made a request which indicated how hardly they took what seemed the irrevocable decision of their obstinate daughter. They arranged for her picture to be painted by the celebrated artist Santi di Tito (†1603), but when the scheme was put to Caterina she immediately refused flatly to have anything to do with it. Indeed, her refusal led to her being compelled to obey through the instrumentality of her confessor, Pietra Blanca, and the artist soon set to work. Caterina, however, devised an ingenious method of spoiling the picture and of having her revenge. She sulked and whimpered whilst the painter was at work; and the resulting portrait shows her face as wilful and stubborn, although at the same time full of determination and character.

On January 30, 1583, the seventeen-year-old Caterina de' Pazzi took the Carmelite habit and chose the name of Mary Magdalene, which again suggests her preoccupation with matters which have always haunted the imagination of so many of the saints and servants of God.

During her early days at the nunnery Sister Mary (as we shall now call her) continued the same kind of life as before. She soon made a name for herself by her exaggerated spirituality, refusing to talk of anything but God and the conventual life, and thus making others feel small and worldly, while at the same time her humility and self-abnegation commended her to the authorities of the establishment, who were always on the look-out for inmates of outstanding virtue.

In order to hasten her profession the future saint now began to try to force the monastic superiors to grant her wishes by using the same devices that she had employed against her parents. She was attacked by an odd malady which four of the city's physicians failed to diagnose. Every day she became weaker and the prioress began to feel sorry that she had delayed her profession beyond the usual time. So in May 1584 it was arranged that the ceremony should take place. Sister Mary was laid on a couch before the altar of Our Lady, and there she made her profession. Having returned to her cell she fell into a rapture; and for the next forty days she experienced a series of ecstasies, and

much of what she then said and taught was taken down and later published through the diligence of Vincenzo Puccini, the spiritual director of the house.[1]

Some of these ecstasies were very curious. They apparently came on at all times and in all places, so that when she was engaged in some manual occupation she suddenly begame rigid and her limbs were fixed. Thus in winter, when washing the clothes, her hands would remain in the water till it froze and heat had to be applied in order to release her. Similarly at meals her hand, which, perhaps, was raising a piece of bread or a glass to her mouth, would become suddenly rigid and there she would remain to the amazement and excitement of all around her. The very word "love" used to throw her in a state of rapture, and it is said that she used to run about in the nunnery calling out the word in a state of frenzied excitement.

The fire by which she was consumed was difficult to slake, so she used to drink quantities of very cold water, bathed her face and arms in it, and throw some of it down her dress in order to cool her breasts.[2] Sometimes also she would seize an image of the Saviour and, removing all the clothes and ornaments, would declare that she would have him naked, so that she might be reminded of all his virtues just as he was, a naked child.[3] Then she used to cry out over and over again: "O Lord, my God, it is enough, it is enough, it is too much, O Jesus . . . O God of Love, no, I can never stop from crying of love, O, you my love, the joy of my heart, the hope and consolation of my soul. . . ." Finally in a paroxysm of frenzy she used to cry: "O love, thou art melting and dissolving my very being. Thou art consuming me and killing me . . . O come, come, and love, love!"[4]

Similarly, when she thought of the spiritual aspects of the Heavenly Bridegroom she stressed his beauty and charm. "O my beautiful spouse," she wrote, "how sweet, kind and tender thou art! O Spouse! O Word, I want always to address thee thus, O Word. . . . How beautiful he is, how tall, dignified and distinguished! His face shines like the sun! before the splendour of his countenance even the sun becomes dark,"[5] and so on.

From the records that have been preserved of these attacks it seems clear that some of her mental states were akin to the mediumistic trance in which the subject gives vent to "inspired" sayings and teachings. Moreover, when not seized by that form of attack when her limbs became rigid, she displayed remarkable agility, leaping up and down, bounding about and dancing with much grace and charm. But in spite of these surprising hops, leaps and capers, I cannot discover any evidence that at any time she was credited with the power of levitation, a fact which is of considerable interest and importance when we

[1] See V. Puccini, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff., and for a French translation of certain extracted passages see the *Œuvres de Ste. Marie Madeleine de Pazzi . . . recueillies par L. M. Brancaccio*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1873).

[2] See V. Puccini, *op. cit.* (Napoli, 1652), p. 16.

[3] V. Puccini, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Cf. A.S., *loc. cit.*, 192D, "*Volem humanitatem tuam, nudam, nudam*".

[4] See L. Grimes, *Esprit des Saints illustres*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1845–1846), vi, p. 306.

[5] L. Grimes, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 302.

compare the theories that have been advanced to account for the alleged levitations and flights of such thaumaturges as St. Joseph of Copertino.[1]

The origin and true nature of her raptures and ecstasies were as usual a profound cause of anxiety and disquiet to her, but as she was assured by her superiors that in truth they were from a divine and not a diabolic source, she continued to develop them. It was said also that she was granted the power of prevision, or precognition as it is often called today. One of the earliest demonstrations of this phenomenon took place in a manner which again throws light on Mary's persistence in her old methods of getting what she wanted.

When she was twenty she declared in a rapture that she had something very important to communicate to Alessandro Medici, the Cardinal of Florence, who was going to be present at the election of a new prioress. This request seemed really a little too much to allow, so the prioress with the approval of the confessor arranged for her to attend early Mass and then to be shut up in her cell during the ceremony. But their plans came to nothing on account of a very peculiar incident. Immediately after Sister Mary had communicated she passed into the trance state, and became rigid and as if glued to the floor. All efforts to get her unstuck failed, and it so happened that the spot where she was suddenly attacked by her odd seizure was most conveniently placed so as to be near the Cardinal when he was present at the ceremony.

When Alessandro Medici arrived, Sister Mary seemed no longer rigid, for she immediately addressed the Cardinal, saying that he would be Pope; and later on she predicted that he would not long survive his exalted position, a statement which was subsequently verified for his pontificate did not last a month.

Another prophecy concerned the arrival of a young foreigner at the convent. Five years later a Portuguese woman came to the house, and Mary immediately claimed that her precognition had been verified. Another prediction was coupled with an event which is sometimes recorded in the lives of the saints, and is concerned with the alleged movement of objects without normal contact, or telekinesis as psychical researchers call it. In this case Mary had told a sick nun that, even though she might be too ill to go to the altar to receive the Sacrament, nevertheless she would be able to communicate. During the service it is related that, to the astonishment of the priest, a Host left the paten of its own accord and travelled to the mouth of the sick sister, who thereby was able to communicate at a distance, and to fulfil the prediction that Mary Magdalene had made.[2]

[1] For an account of this astonishing person see my *Some Human Oddities* (London, 1947), pp. 9 ff. Fr. Olivier Leroy seems inclined to the view that Mary Magdalene was actually levitated on the famous occasion in 1592 when she got on to a high cornice in the Church in order to embrace a crucifix, although I am dubious as to whether the documents will bear this interpretation. See *A.S., loc. cit.*, 261C. and D.

It seems that these high leaps caused considerable perturbation in the convent, as she was instructed to use a ladder when she wanted to ascend to some high perch.

[2] Miracles connected with the Mass are very numerous and include the movement of the Hosts without normal contact, the dematerialization of the wine and the bleeding and transformation of the consecrated pieces of bread. Those of my readers who are interested in these odd subjects can consult the Abbé Fontanes' *Les Miracles Eucharistiques* (Lyon, 1861), and F. Schmid's "Die Eucharistischen Wundererscheinungen im Lichte der Dogmatik" (*Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theologie*, 1902, Jahrg. xxvi, 492-517).

Apart from her powers of precognition, Mary was said to be gifted with clairvoyance, and like so many of her kind she was reported to be able to read the thoughts of those with whom she came in contact, and when she did not like what the novice was thinking about she made haste to apply the discipline to the offending damsel.

During her ecstasies and raptures she often used to continue what she was doing, such as washing, cooking, painting or sewing. Indeed her dissociation was apparent to all who had eyes in their heads, and many tales were told of her abnormal powers when in these states, such as being able to continue delicate needlework or painting with her eyes bandaged or in pitch darkness. Her healing powers were also widely credited, and some remarkable and somewhat unpleasant scenes were witnessed. Thus, like the famous Sucker of St. Médard,[1] she insisted on licking the body of a nun who was afflicted with a loathsome skin disease, a treatment also accorded to another patient who had been attacked with what was supposed to be leprosy.

As might have been expected, these monastic establishments were full of neurotic women who, by refusing to fulfil their natural functions, had failed to become adjusted to the unhealthy and morbid life that they almost invariably led. It is not therefore surprising that there were cases of hysterical maladies among the inmates, and some of these were cured by Mary Magdalene and the results were acclaimed as miracles. Even after her death her relics possessed similar powers, if we are to believe the reports; and there are numerous accounts of how the application of her veil or her pillow was sufficient to subdue a fever or dissipate acute abdominal pains. Moreover, the powers of the future saint extended to influencing not only living matter but also inanimate objects. In 1588 and again in 1602 sour wine was turned into a drinkable beverage, a miracle which reminds us of that recorded of Magdalena de la Cruz, who restored some rotten cherries to their pristine bloom merely by washing them.[2]

In 1585, when Mary Magdalene was not yet twenty, she claimed that God had told her to live mainly on bread and water. The authorities, however told, her that they could not allow one nun to lead a life different from the others, and so her plan was put aside. Nothing daunted, however, she immediately put into operation her usual methods for getting her own way. Instead of eating and digesting the good food placed before her she vomited it up; and these attacks of nausea became so objectionable that she soon was allowed to eat what she wanted and there was no more trouble with her digestive functions. It was always easier to give in to Sister Mary Magdalene than to try to resist this obstinate and crafty young woman, who always knew what she wanted and meant to get it, rules or no rules.

[1] See my *Some Human Oddities*, pp. 73 ff.

[2] For an account of this remarkable woman see *Some Human Oddities*, pp. 32 ff.

Having succeeded in gaining her point over her food, she started to make trouble over her clothes and sleeping arrangements; and her plans for her future dress indicate in what direction her thoughts were tending. She refused to wear any clothes except a simple tunic, and began going about without shoes or stockings, a procedure which was much disliked by the prioress, who ordered its immediate cessation. Certainly it would have needed some imagination to get over this, but, as we have already seen, when it was a question of doing what she wanted Mary was an adept at ingenious devices.

In the present instance she at once began to say that her feet were swelling, and thus she was unable to get them into her shoes. It was therefore impossible for her any longer to walk, so the convent had to suffer the sight of the young woman crawling around on all fours, a spectacle which, considering that she was wearing only a single tunic, could not at times have been altogether a proper or delicate posture.[1] As this sort of thing clearly could not be tolerated, the permission she asked was given, and hardly had it been pronounced than all pain and swelling disappeared as if by magic.

The development of Mary Magdalene's character was now proceeding on a well-defined course. Although on numerous occasions her wishes and desires were resisted by those having authority over her, it always seemed that she eventually gained her point, and what was more that, by resisting her, her spiritual advisers were put in the wrong, and made to feel that they had acted in defiance of divine instructions. But, as is common in the lives of these odd people, a period of aridity was approaching in which God appeared to withdraw to a distance, leaving her soul in a state of desolation and a feeling of having been abandoned. Moreover, in the case of Mary Magdalene this time was one in which the temptations of the flesh were to become exceptionally troublesome. These were ushered in by a prolonged rapture in 1585, in which the nature, course and results of her ordeal were charted and certain of its details made known.

The attacks began in the usual way. Apart from the sense of isolation, Mary began to experience the hallucinations of being attacked, pushed about and physically mauled. She used to run about with her whip hitting out at the demoniacal apparitions and now and then throwing stones at them. One of her phantasies was that she was lying on the ground being hit by the devils; and for hours together she used to be stretched out on the floor reacting to the blows by starts and jumps, writhings and convulsive movements.

Sometimes her fevered imagination and the sexual torments to which she was subjected, and which were doubtless sharpened by her perverse passion for flagellation and beating herself with nettles, conjured up before her every kind of lascivious thought and lewd spectacle, until, driven almost to frenzy, she would rush out into the garden, and there, pulling off her tunic, she would roll naked on thorns and then return, but only again to whip herself until the blood

[1] An incident resulting from this on the part of a monk will be found caricatured by Le Sr. D*** in his *Nouvelles Monacales* (Cologne, 1763), p. 71.

ran. Or, again, she would have herself tied up and blindfolded in order, so she said, that her body might be still further mortified.

Another of her notions was to have herself whipped by the prioress in the presence of the other nuns, and now and then others were called in to slap and spank her. Or she would imagine she was an animal and play around on the ground picking up pieces of bread with her teeth,[1] or she would lie down and get the other nuns to walk over her. Then she used to crawl about under the table with a coil of rope round her neck and kiss the feet of the nuns, or maybe have herself tied up to a post demanding insults and gibes of every kind.

All these phenomena are perfectly familiar to the student of abnormal psychology, and especially to those who are interested in masochistic practices, whereby sexual pleasure is experienced in certain kinds of mental and physical pain, preferably inflicted by a person of the opposite sex. In certain cases, especially among those dedicated to the service of religion, this masochistic pleasure is divorced from anything that can be called consciously sexual, and this variety of ascetic masochism must be sharply distinguished from the other forms.

In the case of Mary Magdalene, however, I am not inclined to view with much sympathy the idea that her masochistic practices were entirely untinged with sexual elements. Indeed, from what we know of her sexual phantasies, such an interpretation can hardly be maintained with any degree of plausibility, Doubtless she interpreted these strange phenomena in accordance with her own point of view, but the facts are clear enough to suggest that she was mistaken.[2]

Her biographers, also, knowing little or nothing of the scientific side of these matters, and holding a theory of diabolic intervention, have fortunately left us enough material both printed and between the lines for us to realize that we have in Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi a classic example of the ascetic female flagellant and masochistic exhibitionist with now and then, as might be expected, a slight sadistic streak. The secret pleasures she experienced in her secluded room at home in Florence had now fully developed, and the resulting blossoms were precisely those which might have been foreseen. The future saint had become a neurotic personality of clearly defined and unmistakable type. Moreover, in her case it cannot, as I have suggested above, be maintained that she was completely unaware of what was happening within her.

It must not be forgotten that all the records insist on the extraordinary

[1] A pleasure for which people addicted to such things are willing to pay high prices. In the haunts of eighteenth-century London they were called "Barking Culls". See *The Life of Tho. Neaves* (London [c. 1729]), p. 36.

[2] The word "masochism" is derived from Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836-1895) and is the counterpart of "sadism", which in turn is derived from Donatien Alphonse François, Marquis de Sade (1740-1814). The two may be combined in a form of sado-masochism, which has been studied in detail by psychoanalysts, but which cannot be dealt with in this place. In recent years both terms have been used more and more loosely and have crept into popular speech through the intermediary of the press and the realistic novel, although it is obvious that the writers have no clear idea of what the terms imply, and have never read a line of Sacher-Masoch and probably never even seen the outside of the works of the "Divine Marquis".

variety of the sexual visions that assailed her. Such material could not have arisen out of nothing, and unless we suppose the devils put the ideas into her head (which surely must have surprised and baffled so virginal a soul), then they must have been constructed from knowledge of facts which she had at one time consciously acquired. But the records of her early life are so meagre and the religious element is so stressed that we cannot even guess what it was that started her on her course. Was it possible that other things went on at home, and that she used to indulge in childish spanking games with her brothers and their young friends? Did she confess to these escapades, and did the family confessor, by questions and suggestions, put ideas into her head which otherwise she would never have thought of? Such things are not unknown, and although confessors are instructed to be very careful not to teach children anything they do not know or might be curious to learn, it is clear that many questions were asked which might easily lead a precocious child to obtain information which otherwise could never have been gained.[1]

As the years went by, the temptations to which she was subject began to weaken, although her self-imposed whippings were as numerous as ever. Towards 1589 a pronounced change was said to come over her. She seemed freer from the obsessions which tormented her and a more peaceful period appeared to be beginning. She had now become mistress of the novices, a post which she filled for six years. But even now her sado-masochistic phantasies were often turned into actual realities. She used to whip the novices soundly to drive the devils out of them, but at the same time she could not bear to think that it was they who were receiving Satan's attentions and not herself, so she told them that it was because the Devil hated her who ruled over them that they were thus afflicted.

But the mortifications that she inflicted on herself were as bad as those that she imposed on others. She dropped hot wax on her skin,[2] slapped herself with an iron chain, and like St. Joseph of Copertino called her body "an ass" which had to bear the burdens of both night and day. Whilst nursing one of the sisters, who had a festering leg-ulcer crawling with maggots, she sucked the wound, and at all times made the greatest show of abject humility, proclaiming her own unworthiness, and sometimes pretending that she had actually committed the sins with which her imagination had been inflamed.

When she was in these states of self-abnegation she used sometimes to get one of the novices to tread on her mouth, and then whip her, imposing silence

[1] For examples of these questions see, *inter alia*, those printed in J. J. Gaume's *Manuel des Confesseurs*, nouv. éd. (Paris, 1865), p. 223, and for a more detailed study of these matters cf. J. C. Saettler, *In sextum decalogi praeceptum . . . praelectiones . . . notis . . . P. J. Rousselot* (Gratianopoli, 1840), p. 42, etc. J. C. Debreyne, *Moechialogie . . .* (Bruxelles, 1846) and later eds.; D. Craisson, *Notiones theologicae* (Parisiis, 1875); and above all the very curious book by the saintly, humble and modest Archbishop Antonio M. Claret of Cuba entitled *Llave de Oro* (Pablo Riera, 1860), where on pp. 140-41 will be found some specimens of the kind of sins to which some female children are addicted, although he says that "he does not wish to say that all girls do these things". (!)

[2] Cf. the modern custom among sophisticated young people of burning each other with the lighted ends of cigarettes.

on the unfortunate girl who was chosen for these odious tasks. When she was not whipped severely enough she used to cry out to them to give it to her harder, and sometimes at night she used to rouse one of the lay-sisters and, under obedience, make her give her a thorough slapping with her chain. At other times she used to get the novices to put their shoes on her face; and even went so far as to confess to them, getting them to impose penances on her. Indeed, she used occasionally to play a kind of game with the novices, and ask their opinion about some action or other that she had done. They, knowing full well that she wanted to be blamed, found some fault, whereupon she at once looked guilty and bowed her head in shame, and maybe was then led off to be whipped.

One of the duties of the mistress of the novices was to accompany them to the grille when visitors arrived, and so one day Mary went with one of them whose brother had come to see her. The young man, seeing Mary's pale face and burning eyes glaring at him through the grille, was so taken aback that he went off in a temper, for he felt very uneasy when he thought that she was listening to everything that was said. All talk of such things as births or marriages was a scandal which could not be tolerated, for in these matters Mary Magdalene was abnormally sensitive on account of the sexual mania which had so often tormented her. Although such matters as births were sufficient to arouse her, she thought nothing of continually harping upon the question of virginity, chastity and purity, which were the constant theme of her waking life.

An illuminating example of the almost incredible depth and range of her phantasies was innocently provided by her biographers when describing her last illness. Racked with pain, and with her body reduced to extreme emaciation, she suffered from what, it is clear, were bed-sores of a severe kind. Unable to move herself, the sisters volunteered to lift her, but she was quick to remind them that they must not attempt to do so if, by touching her, they might be seized by sexual desire! "Willingly would I remain in pain until the vermin are bred,"[1] she protested. If such an incident does not reveal the true Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi, and enable us to peer into her inner life, then nothing could do so.

Although the Apostle Paul was credited with the opinion that it was better to marry than to burn, Mary Magdalene knew better. For she was still consumed by the fires of lust, and although the flames had died down they still emitted a feeble flicker even when she was too weak to move. For her austerities and mortifications, which were meant to subdue those flames, had brought her by 1604 to such a state that she could no longer leave her bed. For nearly three years she thus remained, a living skeleton, racked by coughing and continual pain. She suffered also from her teeth, which, from the kind of life she led, were in such a state that she could not let one row touch the other without

[1] *Libenter enim sustinebo tormentum istud, atque in hoc uno latere computrescam* (see *A.S.*, *loc. sit.*, 294A).

great pain. Gradually they got so bad that all of them became loose and fell out by themselves, as the convent's spiritual director, Vincenzo Puccini himself, records (*op. cit.*, p. 80).

The end came on May 25, 1607. Dedicated to religion and to the service of God, she had been in the convent for twenty-four years. And as her heart slowly ceased to beat she passed into a state of unconsciousness and the tortured soul found peace at last.

Having been laid out, the body, as was usual in such cases, became subject to popular scrutiny, and the flowers which had been scattered over the corpse were stolen in quantities by those filing past the coffin. One of the visitors who wanted to have a look at Mary Magdalene, whose fame and peculiarities were doubtless well known, was a young man whose passions had been calmed in a manner very unlike that attempted by the dead nun. On approaching the coffin he was astounded to see that the head of the corpse immediately turned away so that he could not see it, a miracle which apparently convinced him of the error of his ways, for it is reported that he died not long afterwards in a state of grace.

The fame of the dead sister was spread far and wide. Crowds came to seek relics and hope for miracles. In May 1608 the body was examined, for the coffin had been placed in a damp spot, but although it was found that the wood was wet and the shrouds rotten through moisture, the body was stated to be still almost incorrupt and remained so even at the time that the Congregation of Rites was busy with the details of the canonization processes. As has often been reported in other cases, the body then began to distil a curious oily substance of surpassing fragrance, this effusion lasting from 1608 until 1620, while even in 1663 it is said that the same odour was widely diffused.

It was soon after her death that the nuns at the convent began to agitate for still further recognition of their famous ecstatic. Cardinal Ferdinand, Duke of Mantua, presented a petition to the Pope, Paul V, and others joined him so that the Archbishop of Florence received instructions to put the affair into motion and draw up the first processes.

In 1611 the preliminary accounts of the life and miracles of the dead nun were sent to Rome, a process which was revised in 1624 and the next steps taken. Two years later the Pope, having received the various documents and witnesses, beatified Sister Mary Magdalene. Between the pronouncement of beatification and canonization other surprising miracles are said to have occurred. For example, oil was said to have been increased in vessels in the monastery in circumstances which precluded any normal action, and sour wine was again made good. More healing phenomena were also reported and in these cures the sacred oil played an important part.

Beatification having been pronounced in 1626 by Pope Urban VIII, the way was now open for the canonization processes and for the solemn ceremonies which accompanied the act. Further investigation was ordered and the Promotor Fidei was appointed in the person of Cardinal Decio Azzolino,

and in December 1668 Pope Clement IX, having considered all the facts and the records as narrated in the processes, the decree of canonization was issued and it was arranged that it should be solemnized in April of the following year.

We have a number of contemporary accounts of the ceremonies and all agree as to the brilliance and splendour of the scene, for not only was it the occasion of the canonization of the Blessed Mary Magdalene but also of the great Spanish mystic Peter of Alcantara, who died in 1562. Besides the Pope there were numbers of prelates, cardinals, bishops, princes and priests. Candles blazed, and two standards were carried in procession bearing the portraits of the two persons who were about to be honoured. Finally the great moment arrived. The Supreme Pontiff, wearing his mitre and glittering with gold, pronounced the momentous words in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. The ecstatic virgin, the Dove of Tuscany, the Seraph of Love, or more prosaically that "modern example of robust sanctity in the female sex",[1] as she has been called, had been added to and inscribed in the catalogue of the Saints.

It may seem curious and almost inexplicable to some of my readers that such an unbalanced and neurotic character as St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi could ever have been thus honoured by the Catholic Church, and, indeed, I have some sympathy with their surprise. It must be remembered, however, that ecclesiastical thought in 1669 can hardly be compared with that of 1949. The phenomena exhibited by Sister Mary were all connected with what was supposed to be the life of holiness. Her selfish and importunate ways were, it was imagined, due to the divine influence at work within her. The very temptations to which she was subject and the vividness of the visions which assailed her were proofs of the attentions that saintly souls received at the hands of devilish agencies. To judge Sister Mary by modern standards would be useless and unjust both to her and to her contemporaries. The most that we can do is to interpret her life and behaviour in modern terms, and then try to fit this odd character into its appropriate setting.

Whatever excuses may be offered in explanation of St. Mary Magdalene's behaviour, it cannot be denied, I think, that, to say the least, she was a very trying person. Sufficient evidence to suggest this is to be found in the pages of her biographers, all of whom tell of the unavailing efforts of her superiors to control her. Moreover, her constant preoccupation with sex must have been found very difficult in an institution where numbers of sex-starved women were herded together. Thus to suggest that St. Mary was a disrupting influence among those around her would hardly be an exaggeration. Nevertheless, her determination and courage in the face of grave adversity are highly praiseworthy.

Whatever may be said of her masochistic phantasies and the reality in which they were sometimes clothed, it would be hazardous to assume that she was at all times consciously and openly enjoying the pleasures these practices

[1] *Emerologio de Roma* (Roma, 1713), p. 356.

might have brought her. After all, it can scarcely be maintained that certain temptations are not in themselves pleasurable at times even if their consummation is never attained. It may well be that St. Mary in the whipping of herself and of others merely experienced what was to her an increased temptation, to avoid the consequences of which she would roll on thorns or sit in iced water. It may have been thus with many of these queer servants of God, and so it is charitable to assume that it may have been so with that oddest of odd masochists and female flagellants, the saintly Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi—she who got slapped.

APPENDIX

Life of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi

If the life of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi be carefully considered there can be little doubt that it presents a focus of discussion concerning a number of psychopathological phenomena of which many are today still imperfectly understood. Thus we have the whole problem of ascetic masochism, linked as it is in this case with clearly defined sexual elements, together with sadistic and exhibitionist tendencies.

As has already been stated in the text, it seems possible that Caterina was a precocious child, and that what went on in her parents' house was laid bare in the confessional, and that perhaps her knowledge was much amplified by a confessor not altogether averse from discussing matters with so imaginative a penitent. It is difficult to imagine any other way through which we can account for Mary's acquaintance with certain aspects of life. Similarly, it can hardly be doubted that the mania for flagellation which afflicted her must have arisen at the time when her biographers assert that she practised it under conditions of great secrecy when still a child.

Few will deny, I think, that Mary was a masochist of some kind, even though some may hesitate before applying the actual word to her on account of its sexual implications. The whole conception of moral and ascetic masochism would, perhaps, be clarified if we used another term where the memory of Sacher-Masoch was no longer revived. The difficulty that many normal people have in understanding how pain can be pleasurable is mainly due to the verbal definitions which seem to exclude the possibility. But it must be remembered that pain in certain circumstances may be merely one element in a total situation where other factors, which are admittedly highly pleasurable, can override the associated pain and thus swamp the effect it might have had were it the sole element experienced. In psychoanalytic language the pleasure that the ego experiences in suffering aggression by the super-ego overrides any pain that

the ego has to endure, and thus mortification and the infliction of pain become a pleasure, since the discomfort is rendered less or is, indeed, forgotten by the belief that the soul is thereby strengthened, a feeling which doubtless arouses intense pleasure.

In recent years it has become fashionable among psychoanalysts and others to lay less stress upon the biological aspects of sadism and masochism than used at one time to be the case. In my own view, however, this attitude should be accepted with considerable caution, as it seems to put in the background certain elements which seem to me to be fundamental to any clear understanding of the whole question. In one sense at least "sadism" can be thought of as masculine, and "masochism" as feminine, although the rôles can be reversed. Man gives and woman receives: he is active and she is passive, and in the violence of his activity her passivity is rendered all the more delightful. To dominate and tame one who longs to be dominated and to submit is as pleasurable as to be possessed by one who longs to possess. The process is compensatory. Hence both sadism and masochism can be understood in essence, even though their manifold variations are at first difficult to follow, and can only be fully understood if we possess sufficient imagination to realize the novelty of the reversed rôles and the possibility thereby of almost infinite variations.

It was possibly many of these odd variations which haunted Mary during her five years of temptations. But to suppose that she remained free from sexual feelings is nonsense. The word "temptation" as used by her biographers gives the lie to any such assertion. Moreover, she herself maintained that after a certain period she remained free from any such assaults on her chastity, a statement which can bear only one interpretation. This being so, it is clear that her masochistic phantasies, which were put into actual practice, may have given her acute pleasure which she interpreted as further temptation from the Evil One. Indeed, it is possible that she felt herself secure so long as the pleasure she experienced led to nothing which could be considered as actually unchaste.[1] However that may be, it is obvious that she must have gone to extreme lengths when relief could be obtained only by rolling on thorns or in the snow.

Before passing on to list the various documentary sources for the life of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi a word can hardly be avoided on the subject of flagellation, for whatever may be thought of St. Mary her position as one of the "grandes flagellées"[2] in the Roman Catholic Church has rarely been challenged.

The literature on flagellation is enormous and this is not the place to deal with it in any detail. But, generally speaking, it can be said that flagellation has been employed for three main reasons: (*a*) as a punishment, (*b*) as a supposed

[1] What the vow of chastity implied has been discussed in detail by various writers dealing with the confessional in monasteries. See for example Cap. v., pp. 110 ff. of the sixth edition of *Confessarius Monialum* (Venetiis, 1751) by the learned Cajetanus de Alexandris.

[2] See P. Dumarchey, *Les Grandes Flagellées de l'histoire* (Paris, 1909). The author of this book is P. Mac Orlan.

cure for various diseases, and (*c*) as a venereal stimulant. As a punishment whipping or flogging is of considerable antiquity. In classical times it was well known, although the Greeks early realized its degrading character, and after a time it was inflicted mainly on slaves. A good account of flagellation in the ancient world will be found in the work of C. F. von Schlichtegroll, who, writing under the pseudonym of "G. Collas", published his first volume of the history of flagellation in Leipzig in 1913 under the title of *Der Flagellantismus im Altertum*. Similarly E. G. Förstemann has contributed a history of the great sects of Christian religious flagellants in his *Die christlichen Geissler-Gesellschaften* (Halle, 1828).

Although all punishments may be said to have some deterrent effect, it has been claimed that this is especially so with regard to whipping or flogging when applied in the case of certain offences. This is, however, not in accordance with the facts, although the idea has still its enthusiastic supporters among the clerical, legal and teaching professions. These perfervid advocates are clearly entitled to their own opinions, although it has been suggested that their insistence in flying in the face of the facts may be due to other and more subtle reasons than those put forward to support their ideas. However that may be, flogging as a punishment is a failure. As Tighe Hopkins said in his *Wards of the State* (London, 1913), p. 203, "history vouchsafes no other answer", or as Havelock Ellis expressed it in his *The Criminal* (London, 1890), pp. 274–75, when he said that the only excuse for those who advocate it is that they have had no experience in the matter.

Even in the early days of transportation to Van Diemen's Land the surgeon John Barnes stated that he never knew of a convict being benefited by flagellation, as he had always found him afterwards a more desperate character than before, and after the lash had been once inflicted he was generally among those who had it repeated (Select Committee on Transportation, 1838, *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 38 (1837–1838 [669], XXII, 88). On the other hand the Duke of Wellington had no doubt about the efficacy of whipping, since he maintained that "there is no punishment which makes an impression upon anybody except corporal punishment" (see John Gurwood's *Selections*, London, 1842, p. 924 and cf. pp. 669, 790).

Before passing in short review some more opinions favourable to corporal punishment it may be of interest to the unprejudiced reader to know where to look for the facts regarding the alleged deterrent effect of whipping and flogging. In 1938 the matter was under discussion in governmental circles and the Home Office issued a *Report on Corporal Punishment* (Cmd. 5684) which had been drawn up by the Departmental Committee which had been appointed to consider it. This document is of considerable interest, as it examines many of the arguments in favour of whipping such as the now hoary tale of its success in putting down garrotting in 1863. The Committee was unable to find any body of facts or figures which showed that the introduction of the power of flogging had produced a decrease in the number of offences for

which it may have been imposed, or, on the other hand, that the crimes for which it had been ordered tended to increase when but little use was made of the power to impose it (pp. 90–91).

Further evidence to the same effect was later provided by Dr. E. Lewis-Faning, who had been asked by the Medical Research Council to look into the matter. He found that from 1863–1936 there was no statistical evidence that the imposition of corporal punishment had in any way acted as a deterrent, and that there seemed to be no relation between the number of floggings and crime in the same year. Indeed, he suspected that the punishment was imposed as a retribution rather than as something tending towards reformation (see "Statistics relating to the deterrent element in flogging" (*Jour. Royal Statistical Society*, 1939, CII, pp. 565–78).

The same year that Dr. Lewis-Faning's report was published, Standing Committee A was considering the question in reference to the Criminal Justice Bill, and those Members of Parliament who favoured flogging were able to give their views during the debates. Among those supporting the practice were Viscountess Davidson and Mrs. Mavis Tate, both of whom approved of whipping of various kinds. Mrs. Tate thought that whipping was the best possible type of punishment for some children, and Viscountess Davidson declared that she was going to do everything in her power to defeat the proposal abolishing corporal punishment except for certain assaults on prison warders (see the Official Report of the *Debates* February 7–April 20, 1939). As we shall see later, these discussions aroused great interest in the country, and those in favour of the retention of whipping both for children and adults voiced their opinion at meetings and in the popular press, although without attempting to reply to the reasoned objections of those opposed to the practice.

The whipping and spanking of children has been advocated for many years, and the correspondence appearing in the papers will, if carefully read, provide sufficient evidence for the fact that interest is not always in the alleged reformative effect on the child, but sometimes in the pleasure given to the operators. In the Middle Ages the flogging of schoolchildren was well known, and John Grand-Carteret in Vol. I of his *L'histoire—la vie—les mœurs et la curiosité par l'image* (Paris, 1927–1929) has given an account of it. Similarly F. X. Unterlechner in his *Prügel und Erziehung* (Berlin, 1932) has given the subject a fuller ventilation for modern times. But, as I have said above, it is in the correspondence columns of papers that the reader will find the most illuminating information. Five examples will suffice. From December 1865 to early in 1866 *The Queen* published a series of letters on the whipping of children and the success of the correspondence was such that in 1870 the editor of *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* opened the columns of that journal to a discussion of the whipping of children of both sexes. It proved so popular and voluminous that it was later published as a "Supplemental Conversazione" in nine numbers from April to December 1870, to be followed later by another long series of letters in *The Family Doctor and People's Medical Adviser*,

which created somewhat of a sensation in circles where such matters were discussed and secretly practised. Indeed, the interest aroused by the letters was such that readers on the Continent were not deprived of the pleasure of learning what was being done to British youth in the name of education. Sensing the success of their publication in Germany, Erna E. Neumann translated a selection and published it in Dresden in 1900.

With the close of the series the appetite of the spankers was not appeased. They clamoured for more; and towards 1896 the London journal *Society* opened its columns to the same subject. Success was instantaneous, and year after year the letters poured in, reaching their climax in 1900. The editor refused to yield to the entreaties of those wishing to spank to be put in touch with those who desired their ministrations, but the difficulty was easily surmounted by the formation of whipping clubs and discreet premises where "patients" who desired "treatment" could be received or where arrangements could be made whereby they could be visited in their own homes in order to undergo the necessary "correction". One advertisement of this kind emanated from a "boudoir" in Jermyn Street, London, and stated that it was for "ladies only" and that "discipline treatment" could be administered there and that on occasion this correction might be "reciprocal and penitential". Sometimes these establishments combined manicure, massage and discipline, two addresses specializing in these delights being found in Newman Street and Mortimer Street, where Miss Thomas, whip in hand, awaited her expectant clients.

News of the voluminous correspondence in *Society* soon reached the ears of the industrious Erna Neumann, who translated a weighty collection of the most revealing letters and published them in Dresden in four volumes from 1901 to 1902, following them by another three volumes in 1903 with the correspondence printed in the *Illustrated Boston News*, where American parents had discussed the value or otherwise of whipping their children. A further collection was issued by Neumann somewhat later entitled *Miss Rod, John Bull's Erzieherin* (Triest, 1911–1912). In more modern times precisely the same kind of correspondence was published in 1939 in *Picture Post*, when the paper allowed its readers to have "their say on caning", which they did in no uncertain terms.

Although the published correspondence was supposed to be from loving parents who desired only the good of their children, it was clear that much of it was of a very different kind, and approximated to the kind of material circulated by the various flogging clubs of which most was issued in typescript and is extremely rare. In 1918, however, a society called the Corporal Correction League was formed in Liverpool for the purpose of advocating "the surest way to make naughty children good". In its leaflet full instructions are given how to apply the punishment, and members are assured that "these whippings are sure to bring increased peace in your home". How far the Council of the League provided whippers for parents unwilling themselves to undertake the painful duty is not certain, and there is no evidence that the Hon. Director

ever attained the fame of the notorious Mrs. Madeleine S. Pierce, whose doings were exposed in *Truth* in 1893 (see *Truth*, 1893, XXXIV, pp. 748 f.; 806ff.; 862ff.; 1211 and 1894, XXXVI, 1446 ff.) and whose advertisements appeared in *The Standard* and *The Christian World*.

Modern daily papers still carry similar letters from parents when corporal punishment is being discussed. In 1931 *The Daily Telegraph* had letters from "Victorian" fathers and mothers, one of whom said that he had always spanked all his five daughters with a damp hairbrush (see June 20), and another who said that the slipper or cane should often be used on girls between the ages of 12 and 18 (June 19). The same year a London magistrate commended a father for deciding to thrash his son, who had absconded with 3*s*. 8*d*., saying that he was a sensible man and that "that was the remedy" (*Daily Herald*, July 6). In May 1932 an illuminating debate took place in the House of Lords when the Children and Young Persons Bill was being discussed. Many of their Lordships desired a clause inserted whereby boys might be whipped by constables, and the resulting debate proved an interesting and instructive addition to the literature of flagellation and can be compared with the even more remarkable discussion on Lesbianism which took place in the House of Lords in August 1921 (*Parl. Debates*, H. of L., May 26, 1932, lxxxiv, 447 ff.; 685 ff. and cf. *ib*., August 15, 1921, xlvi, 571 ff.) Indeed, as these words are being written a selection of the publications of a strange "Educational Supply Company" has been put on my desk. This organization supplies canes and a "de Luxe spanking tawse", together with a bulletin in which correspondents describe methods and results in a manner which might have been taken straight out of the writings of Le Nismois or that author who discreetly veils himself under the initials of "E.D." The company has an address in London where spankers may select the most suitable instruments, which, when I visited the establishment, were hung round the room. Every month the company issues a "bumper" or monthly supplement, which can only be compared with the typed stories which used to be circulated by the German flagellation clubs and of which a representative selection is preserved in the secret cabinets of the great libraries.

In 1935 an ecclesiastical dignitary found himself in difficulties, as it was said that he had an obsession for corporal punishment, and had whipped a boy in a railway carriage in Victoria Station in London (*Daily Telegraph*, November 20). Two years later the *British Medical Journal*, in the issue of March 20, declared that the birching of children by the police was now an anachronism, but in May of the same year an official of the Doncaster Juvenile Court regretted that they could not birch a boy of fourteen and a half, because (as he was reported in the Press as saying) "of a silly Act of Parliament" (*Daily Mirror*, May 6). In January 1939 some female magistrates met at the Guildhall, Westminster, to discuss the proposed abolition of flogging. By a large majority the ladies voted against the abolition of the penalty (see *Sunday Dispatch*, January 15).

In June the same year the Chief Constables' Association met in Cambridge. They were addressed by Professor (now Sir) F. C. Bartlett, the experimental psychologist. He was questioned by Mr. A. K. Wilson of Liverpool, who asked the Professor if he could suggest the best treatment for the type of man who assaulted young girls. In reply Mr. Bartlett (according to the report published in the *Cambridge Daily News* of June 22 and the *Daily Telegraph* of June 23) said that he would like to see more authority given to the police, and that he would like to trust the Chief Constable—"if this man wants a whipping give him one straight away"—thus apparently preferring summary punishment without the bother involved in trying the case in court at all. These remarkable statements excited much controversy, and in a letter published on June 29 Professor Bartlett explained his position, and said that the whippings to be given without trial in the police stations were far removed from the flogging which was a part of the judicial system of this country, a statement which was certainly true although not perhaps in the sense that the Professor intended.

As the years went on there was no abatement in the opinions in favour of whipping, which were voiced by persons in positions of responsibility. In 1941 a judge at Bradford said that he regretted that the old English custom whereby husbands could chastise their wives was no longer in operation (*News Chronicle*, November 13); and in 1942 at a Primrose League meeting in London one lady said, according to a report in the Press, that Christianity and beatings should go together, and that the birch should be given to "mean, despicable boys" (*Daily Mirror*, October 1).

The same year a Bishop is reported to have said that juvenile delinquency can best be met by a whipping as soon as possible after a court conviction (*Daily Sketch*, August 20), and in 1943 the Chief Constable of Renfrewshire was said by a correspondent in *The New Statesman and Nation* (November 27) to have stated during the Greenock "Religion and Life" Week that birching today was not harsh enough, as no blood was drawn. Even in 1945 the same thing can be read. In *Truth* for August 31 appeared a letter from a correspondent who spoke of the practice of mollycoddling the persons who were convicted of certain sexual offences, and stated that what these "moral lepers" needed was a few strokes of the "cat" to bring them to their senses.

As juvenile delinquency increased after the end of the Second World War the demand for more birching became shriller and more insistent. At one sitting at Leeds Quarter Sessions the Recorder had a number of cases of housebreaking and other offences committed by young people. He actually stated that he had received letters from correspondents who asked why he did not order the young criminals to be birched or whipped, and he complained that unfortunately he had not the power, adding that the result was that "instead of being whipped the first time they do wrong—as they are in decent families—they are treated like little heroes and go on being bound over".

In April 1947 the Foundation for Educational Research was asked to conduct an inquiry into the effects on the child of various forms of punishment,

and the news evoked some interesting comments in the House of Commons, on April 24, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education giving it as his own personal opinion that corporal punishment as a means of keeping discipline was completely out of date, adding that public opinion had got to be convinced that without it discipline could be maintained. How far public opinion is or is not in favour of abolishing corporal punishment in this country I am not prepared to say. But in the United States a Gallup Poll in 1947 revealed the not unexpected result of three out of every four parents thinking that the spanking of children was an excellent idea!

Towards the end of 1947 the whole subject of flogging was again before the public on account of the discussion both in Parliament and outside of the Criminal Justice Bill. Letters and articles were published in the familiar style, and a former Home Secretary, Mr. J. R. Clynes, contributed a statement to the *Evening Standard* of November 5 entitled "Keep the 'Cat'!" In the same month Viscount Templewood entered the controversy in an article in the same newspaper entitled "The Truth about Flogging", in which he noted the fact that "for some reason or other" people got very excited when whipping was being discussed. In an attempt to rebut the arguments of those who supported flogging he pointed to the report of the "very representative and impartial Cadogan Committee" (Cmd. 5684) of 1938, where all the arguments for judicial flogging were met and disposed of in no uncertain manner. Yet as these words go to press the same old arguments and statements are being repeated by persons in all walks of life, many of whom are apparently still wholly unaware of the real reasons why they continue to support this particular form of judicial torture.

From the above selections, which are representative of a similar mass of material, it will be seen how the idea that birching and whipping are salutary punishments is widely spread, and how clearly the erotic element is present in the correspondence. If further evidence is wanted we have only to turn to the recognized erotic and pornographic literature on the subject to see how the idea is nearly always linked with stories of school teachers and police cells. I shall not weary the reader by enumerating these publications but merely select a few titles which will illustrate the point at issue. A. van Rod, *Le Precepteur* (Paris, 1914); Bernadotte, *Die strenge Klavierlehrerin* [Pressburg, *c.* 1910?]; E. Ramberg, *Die Zuchtrute von Tante Anna* [Pressburg, *c.* 1908?]; and many others. The majority of these strange publications are stories of children and young persons who are in schools and institutions where the masters and mistresses indulge their perverse passions in whipping and beating the pupils at all times and for the most trivial offences.

As a supposed cure for certain diseases whipping has been well known for many years, and K. F. Paullini in his *Flagellum Salutis* (Franckfurt am M., 1698) gave an account of the various ailments which were supposed to be relieved by its use.

It is, however, as a venereal stimulant that flagellation is best known, and,

as we have seen above, there is a very considerable literature dealing with this aspect of the practice. It is here that we can see how dangerous such a punishment can be in the case of young people of sensual disposition, who may thereby become devotees of a practice which by itself must be classed as a perversion. As Snarl is made to say in Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (Act III), when about to be whipped by Mrs. Figgup, "I was so us'd to't at *Westminster* School, I cou'd never leave it off since . . . I love Castigation mightily." Similarly the whole of this side of flagellation was well illustrated in George Coleman's *The Rodiad* (London, 1810)[1] and many times reprinted. In order to understand this side of flogging it must be remembered that not only does the practice of spanking and whipping increase the flow of blood, but also the exposure of the body involved in the procedure is apt to lead to pleasure in itself, thereby increasing a tendency to exhibitionism, which can hardly fail to be observed in the case of St. Mary Magdalene.

In early days among religious communities it was thought that whipping of the shoulders and upper part of the back caused physical injuries of various kinds, and thus the site was lowered, this change soon becoming connected with erotic manifestations which aroused the criticism of opponents of the cloister, and resulted in many satirical drawings and suggestive prints.[2]

As the years rolled by and the Middle Ages gave way to more modern times, the practice of flagellation showed no real abatement in many parts of the world. This is not the place to describe the great flagellant sects, for we must now confine ourselves to a short consideration of its effect in the cloister. The more undesirable elements in the practice were soon recognized, and even the pious writers contributed stories of what went on which require little interpretation,[3] and in a number of sixteenth-century works such as those by Brunfels and Richerius[4] the result of whipping upon impotence is described with some extraordinary examples.

The whole position regarding whipping in the conventual life was fully dealt with by the great Jesuit writer J. Gretser (1562–1625), who discussed the question from a variety of angles.[5] But it was not until later that the writers became less obscure in their remarks, and the erotic significance of the practice became more openly stressed. Thus in 1639 there was published in Leyden a book by a German physician of some learning, J. H. Meibom (1590–1655), entitled *J. H. Meibomii de flagrorum usu in re veneria, et lumborum renumque*

[1] Both author and date are fictitious.

[2] See E. Fuchs and A. Kind, *Die Weiberherrschaft* (München, 1913), Vol. I, and cf. E. Fuchs, *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte, Ergänzungsband, Renaissance* (München, 1909).

[3] Cf. Bernardinus de Bustis, *Mariale* (Hagenaw, 1506), where in Sermo VIII (*De Conceptione Marie*) will be found a tale of a monk's castigation couched in somewhat highly coloured language.

[4] See O. Brunfels, 'Ονομαστικον *Medicinae* (Argentorati, 1534) under "coitus": L. C. Richerius, *L. C. Rhodigini Lectionum Antiquarum libri triginta . . . Postrema ed.* [Frankfort], 1599), Lib. XI, cap. XV, col. 503.

[5] J. Gretser, *De Spontanea Disciplinarum sev Flagellorum Cruce libri tres* (Col. Agripp., 1696); *Virgidemiae Volciana* (Ingolstadt, 1608). The most convenient source to consult these works is in Vol. IV of Gretser's *Opera* (Ratisbonae, 1734). A German translation of part of his work entitled *Disciplinbuch* was published in Ingolstadt in 1606.

officio epistola. The work went through a number of editions, and was translated into a variety of languages including English, French and German, one edition appearing under the curious imprint of "Londini, 1000, 700, 61" and another as late as 1908.[1]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century appeared the famous work by Jacques Boileau entitled *Historia Flagellantium* (Parisiis, 1700), which was also published in a number of editions and translations. It was answered by J. B. Thiers in his *Critique de l'histoire des Flagellans* (Paris, 1703), and excited considerable interest, especially as the eighteenth century provided a number of erotic publications of an extreme type where flagellation played an important part in the scenes described.[2]

Another work, rather similar in some respects to that of Boileau, was issued in 1788 by the eccentric Dr. F. A. Doppet under the title of *Traité de Fouet . . . Par D*****, Médecin*, but in more modern times the literature has been largely confined to crude stories published either privately or by back-street firms and generally without the slightest literary value or interest. The close relation, however, between masochism and the practice is illustrated by such titles as *Masochisma* [Hamburg, *c.* 1901?], by Ferdinand Kronegg, or *Das unterjochte Ehepaar: masochist Roman*, by Stephan Orban, which was apparently never printed but circulated in typescript to the members of a German flagellation club. Similarly, the extraordinary work by E. von Friedberg, *Der Prügelinstitut*, which was privately printed in 1920, illustrates a series of horrors which recall the worst excesses of the Nazis nearly twenty years later. Even more curious phantasies were revealed in the book printed on pink paper, *Im Traumlande des Flagellantismus* (Pressburg [1900]), and the close connexions between flagellation and slavery were vividly portrayed in the remarkable book *The Story of Seven Maidens* (Cambridge, 1907), in which slave life from this angle was as realistically painted as it was in the German work *In Sklavenjoch*, which was issued privately to subscribers early in the same century.

As has already been said, the custom of flagellation in monasteries and by ascetics generally is of considerable antiquity, and Gretser in his *Virgidemiae Volciana* (p. 116) gives a list of those famous figures who were noted for the practice. The whipping of the young oblates was often carried out,[3] but few of the earlier scandals reached the proportions of that aroused by the whipping of nuns in the remarkable case of Cornelis Adriaensen of Dordrecht, which E. van Meteren among others has described in his *Historia Belgica* (Antwerp, 1600), Lib. VIII, pp. 218 ff., and which was only finally exposed

[1] For those interested in the bibliography of this and other similar works see *Analecta-biblion* (Paris, 1836), Vol. II, pp. 316, etc., and the *Essais bibliographiques* of Viest 'Lainopts (Paris, London, 1875), which should be used with caution.

[2] Cf. the works of the Marquis de Sade and above all his accounts of the adventures of Justine and Juliette. Even in that dull product of his pen, *Zoloë et ses deux Acolytes*, which was first published in 1800, we read of "*tous les instruments que l'art a ajoutés comme moyens de ressuciter les facultés abattues*" (p. 43); and it is probable that the most vivid accounts of flagellation scenes of extreme cruelty are to be found in the works of this writer whose productions were so highly esteemed by Swinburne.

[3] See for example E. Martens, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus* (Bassano, 1788), p. 230.

through the efforts of two young ladies, Becken Maes and Calleken Peters.[1] Finally the whole subject was dealt with rather inadequately by G. Frusta in his *Der Flagellantismus und die Jesuitenbeichte* (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1834).

As regards monastic life in modern times it was not, I think, until 1841 that any lengthy account of flagellation was published, this time by an ex-Capuchin Prior, Franz S. Ammann, who in his *Oeffnet die Augen ihr Klöster-vertheidiger!* (4e Aufl., Bern, 1841) gave on pp. 38–39 a full story of what occurred, and the kind of apparatus employed, a practice which had been barely mentioned in the eighteenth-century *Le Capucin démasqué* (Cologne, 1714), although on p. 17 will be found the story of a brother who was made to lie down by the refectory door to let the others walk over him just as in the case of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi.

The life of St. Mary can best be studied in the pages of her biographers and the accounts of incidents as recorded in the various Processes,[2] a set of these being in the great collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Nrs. 5757–5768). One of the most convenient sources is the volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May 25, where the Saint is dealt with on pp. 175 ff. of Vol. VI of the 1866 edition.

Among St. Mary Magdalene's own works are *Le Opere* (Napoli, 1643), edited by the Carmelite L. M. Brancaccio, of which a French version in two volumes was published in 1873. In 1703 appeared the *Documenta et Monita quae S. Maria Magdalena de Pazzi diversis dedit Religionis . . .* (Salisburgi), and in Florence in 1772 an edition of her *Lettere*. In 1924 M. Vaussard issued in Florence her *Estasi e lettere scelte*, and there followed R. Cioni's edition of some of her works in a volume entitled *Nell'estasi: ratti, colloqui, lettere . . .* (Milano, 1930).

The number of lives of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi which have been compiled are considerable, and I have not been able to locate copies of some of them for the purposes of consultation. Among them those by Puccini and Cepari are the most important, and later biographers have made full use of these in their own compilations. For the benefit of those, however, who wish to know what material exists, and who find it difficult to dig it out for themselves, I will list some of these lives in chronological order.

Puccini, V. *Vita della ven. Madre Suor Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Firenze, 1609). This is an important source for St. Mary's life, as Puccini was the confessor

[1] In the German translation of Meteren's work, *Niederländische Historien*, the passage will be found on pp. 385 ff. There has been considerable controversy over the question of how far Adriaensen was actually guilty of the misdemeanours with which he was charged by his enemies. A judicial summing up of the evidence was written by Th. J. I. Arnold in an article entitled "*Broeder Cornelis Adriaensz*", which appeared in the issue of *De Dietsche Warande* for August 5, 1877. Of the later cases the Girard-Cadière scandal was the most notorious.

[2] See *Vita ex Actis Canonizationis, et ex Secretaria Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum, juxta exemplar Romae impressum*. In: *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antverpiae, 1680), Vol. II, pp. 443 ff.; *Florentina canonizationis B. Mariae Magd. de Pazzi . . . Informatio super dubio* (Roma, 1667); *Canonizationis B. Mariae Magd. de Pazzis Ord. Carm. Summarium* (Roma, 1667), and cf. D. Capellus, *Acta canonizationis . . . Mariae Magd. de Pazzis* (Roma, 1669), in which much information will be found.

of the house in which she served. A considerable number of editions and translations have been published, and a Latin version is included in the *Acta Sanctorum* for May 25. There were editions in Italian published in Florence in 1611, 1621 and 1639; in Rome in 1629; in Cöln in 1654 and München in 1670; in Venice in 1688; in Lucca in 1716; and in Monza in 1871. A shortened version in English appeared in 1619; and another, translated from the French version of the R. P. Lezin de Sainte Scolastique (Claude de Buchamps) published in 1669, appeared in 1687. Another French translation by L. Brochand appeared in 1670, and one in Spanish by J. B. de Lezana in Rome in 1648. Similarly an edition in Flemish by P. Wemmers appeared at Antwerp in 1653, and another in Bohemian by F. S. Gdowski in Prague.

Ferri, F. G. *Compendio della vita e miracoli dell' estatica vergine S.a Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Bologna, 1622). Later editions appear to have been published in 1666 and 1672.

Mertola, L. Vaz de. *Vida da Beata Maria Magdalena de Pazzis* (Olissipone, 1626).

Barra, A. *Compendio, della vita della B. Suor Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Napoli, 1627).

Vigier, G. *Vita B. Mariae Magdalenae de Pazzis* (Parisiis, 1631). Vigier is also known as Dominicus a Jesu.

Castroreale, A. *Compendio della vita della B. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Napoli, 1633). (In Litta but possibly earlier edition of Ferraro, *infra*.)

Ruggieri, G. S. *Compendio della vita di S.a Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Roma, 1643).

Gizzi, F. *L'Amor trionfante, rappresentazione sacra della vita e morte della B. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Napoli, 1668). Another edition appeared in Florence in 1673.

Leo, a S. Joanne (i.e. J. Macé). *La vie admirable de Sainte Marie Madeleine de Pazzi* (Paris, 1669). I am not certain whether this life is directly derived from Puccini, although it appears that a Latin version of about the same date certainly was. The Italian translation—*Ristretto della serafica vita di S.a Maria Madalena de' Pazzi* was made by G. Fozi and published in Rome in 1669. An earlier French edition or version of Macé's work was issued in Poitiers in 1627, and in Paris two editions appeared in 1634 and 1636.

Cepari, V. *Vita della serafica Vergine S. Maria Madelena de' Pazzi* (Roma, 1669). This is one of the most important sources and a number of translations have appeared. Another edition in Italian was published in Prato in 1884; several editions in French (Lyon, 1837; Clermont-Ferrand, 1846; Paris, 1862; 1873 and 1876.) A Dutch translation in Ghent, 1861; a German edition in Regensburg in 1857 and a Spanish translation in Madrid in 1891. In 1849 appeared in London an English translation which followed the 1669 Italian edition.

Olivier de Saint-Anastase, *Le Père. Le triomphe de S. Maria Magdalena de' Pazzi* (Bruges, 1669).

Fornara, G. M. *Vita di S.a Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Milano, 1669).

Ferraro, A. *Compendio della vita di Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Venetia, 1669).

Jacobo (Patritius a Sancto). *Vita S. Mariae Magdalenae de Pazzis* (Francofurti, 1670).

Ulperni, S. *O Forasteiro admirado* (Lisboa, 1672).

Vita e ratti di Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi (Lucca, 1716). This is probably the translation from Puccini already noted. It was apparently reprinted in 1893 and issued in Florence with some modifications (see *Anal. Boll* XIII, 189).

Carisi, F. *Compendio della vita di S.ª Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Modena, 1728).

Moneglia, A. *Estratto di maraviglie dalle azioni prodigiose della innocentissima vergine S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Milano, 1730).

Brocchi, G. M. *Vita della B. Caterina de' Pazzi francescana* (Firenze, 1742). Included in the *Vite di Santi e Beati, etc.*

Razzi, *S. Vita e laudi' di S.ª Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Orvieto, 1859).

Santa (La) di Firenze presentata principalmente a' suoi concittadini nel terzo centenario della morte (Firenze, 1906).

Beausire-Seyssel, Vicomtesse de. *Vie de Marie-Madeleine de Pazzi, d'après les Bollandistes et des documents inédits* (Paris, 1913).

Vaussard, M. *S. Marie Madeleine de' Pazzi* (1566–1607) (Paris, 1925).

In addition to the lives of the Saint there are also a number of panegyrics issued at various times in the seventeenth century in which her praises are sung in extravagant terms. Among these may be mentioned that by G. Azzolini entitled *Orazione in lode di Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Napoli, 1644, and again in 1647), and L. Bonsi's *La Colomba della Toscana* (Firenze, 1662).

Full details of the canonization ceremonies with an account of the gorgeous scenes and procedure together with the costs will be found in a number of documents such as B. Lupardi's *Relatione delle cerimonie nella canonizatione* (Roma, 1669); *Relatione delle cerimonie celebrate nella basilica di S. Pietro* (Roma, 1669); *Breve relatione delle Feste fatte per la canonizatione di S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (Roma, 1670); B. M. Landi, *Relatione della festa solenne fatta . . . per la canonizatione* (Roma, 1670), and others.

IV. Hadrian Beverland

LORD OF ZEALAND

THE advantages or disadvantages of a classical education have for so long been debated with impassioned vehemence that I have no intention of adding my own drop to the seas of ink with which the ground is saturated. Were I to do so I might be accused of displaying an unseemly prejudice, for my own experience has led me to the provisional conclusion that a classical education is not always a reliable guide to straight thinking when opinions are to be expressed either verbally or in print.

In a classical education, however, there is another danger which has never been forgotten. The Greek and Roman authors were not merely literary artists who specialized in form and style. They were men of the world and called a spade a spade, and many of them would have laughed heartily had they known that centuries later men would think it improper to display baby clothes in a shop window lest they should arouse evil thoughts in the passers-by, or would clothe the supports of furniture with frilly garments lest the idea of "leg" enter the minds of some sensitive individual. Moreover, the civilizations of Greece and Rome presented features which still disturb the tranquillity of classical enthusiasts, who do their best to cover them up and forget them, as that great classical scholar A. E. Housman found to his cost when he tried to discuss some philological and linguistic points in an English classical journal. His paper drew attention to a number of passages which proved too tough to be digested by English classical scholarship, so it had to be published elsewhere, although I am not aware that the issue in which it was printed has been withdrawn from the scrutiny of the curious.[1]

The fact is that the ancient writers were not in the least frightened by the odd divagations of the human mind; and their books are full of material which not only gives us a vivid insight into certain features of their own culture, but also provides the student of psychopathology with striking examples of the multifarious activities of the sexual impulse.

The endeavour to suppress these passages has for long been practised by classical teachers, the objectionable lines and phrases being left either untranslated, as in the Loeb Classical Library, or rendered in another language under the influence of the extraordinary idea that the student is thereby prevented from understanding them. Some such course was obviously necessary, since many of the classical teachers themselves would have been utterly unable to explain the passages in scientific terms, and thus the student was left to grapple with the problem in the haze of nastiness which almost invariably surrounds

[1] See A. E. Housman, "Praefanda" (*Hermes*, 1931, LXVI, pp. 402-12).

the facts of life in the English-speaking world. It is still with some amusement that I look back to the lectures I once attended when the students at the end of the hour made a rush to their dictionaries to look up the words in that section of the text which was dealt with by the lecturer in the terse remark, "We will pass over the next six lines, if you please."

The result of their curiosity was somewhat mixed. In the majority of cases they followed the lead given by their instructors, who were of the opinion that some of the interests of such writers as Martial and Catullus were most undesirable and had better be swiftly forgotten. It was thus that many future classical scholars cut themselves off from understanding the more curious aspects of the civilizations of the ancient world; and they regarded with aversion and suspicion anyone who pointed out that neglect of the Greek view of love or the details of that society which Juvenal castigated was not the mark of scholarship but of a person who had failed to put away childish things. What is needed in such matters is a due regard for proportion. Over-emphasis of the sordid details of a decadent society is to be avoided just as under-emphasis; yet there is always the danger in a classical education that certain passages may awake the very interests that their suppression was designed to prevent. Such a catastrophe sometimes occurs. It did so in the case of Hadrian Beverland, one of the oddest scholars who ever added glosses to a classical text.

Hadrian Beverland, or Hadrianus Beverlandus as he preferred to call himself, was born, if we can believe his own testimony, about 1651 in Middelburg, the capital of the province of Zealand in the Netherlands. Doubt as to the precise date of his birth seems to be typical of most of the events in his life; and Dutch scholars have by now almost given up the attempt to throw more light on his mysterious existence. We do not even know who his parents were and why his name does not seem to appear in the baptismal registers of the Dutch Reformed community. According to the little that he himself said on the subject of his family it appears that his mother must have been the sister of the famous theologian and bibliophile Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), and daughter of the equally famous Gerhard Johann Vossius (1577–1649), who was at one time a prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral.

After the death of his father, Beverland's mother apparently married the engineer Sir Bernard de Gomme, who held a number of important posts in England and was naturalized under Charles II in 1667. Now according to Gomme's will this lady was named Katherine van Deniza, but from what is known of G. J. Vossius he had but two daughters, Cornelia and Johanne, the first of whom died when she was eighteen and the second in 1640. It seems, therefore, possible that Katherine was merely related by marriage to Isaac Vossius, although it is not yet clear what was the precise connexion. In speaking of his mother Beverland himself seems to be intentionally vague. He says that her ancestors were "Lords of Middelburg in Flanders, Presidents of Mechelin, Uytrecht and Flanders, Senators to Phillip, King of Castilien, Regementeurs of Napels", but at the time this was written (1710) all his statements should

be read with caution. However that may be, there were apparently three children of the marriage: Johan, Christophorus and Hadrian himself. Johan turned to religion, and at one time was a minister of the Dutch community at Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, and was also connected with a church at Flixton in Suffolk. We know very little of Christophorus except that he was apparently enrolled along with Hadrian on the books of the Academy of Leyden in 1673. It was Catharine, the daughter of Christophorus, that Hadrian nominated as his sole heir in his will, dated from London in January 1704.

When Beverland was about fifteen his mother died and he passed under the care of guardians, who, pleased with his attention to his studies and love of learning, gave him, according to his own confession, much too much money. He was at that time living with the Rev. Mr. Pieter Coorney, a minister at Middelburg, who looked after his spiritual welfare by instructing him in the rules appertaining to religion and morals. Coorney's motto, which he used often to repeat, was to the effect that he who was a success in learning whilst a failure in conduct was in essence more of a failure than a success.[1]

It was, however, not all work with young Beverland. Every Saturday he and his young companions used to go out into the fields, and when the orchards were laden with ripe fruit they ate their fill, even going one day to Mrs. Beverland's orchard, which they likewise plundered.

It was about this time that Beverland came under the influence of Dr. N. Arnoldi, a professor of theology and severe disciplinarian, in whose house he lodged and where also lived a young man called Aubert, who, according to Beverland, "committed enormities". Regarding himself, he says that he was top of his class and so his influence over the other boys was considerable.

The year before Beverland was entered on the Leyden lists he went to Oxford. It is not known, I think, what decided him to visit England, but I suspect that it was through the invitation of his uncle, Isaac Vossius, who had already been there some years and who had been made a Canon of Windsor by Charles II.

Having arrived at the Bodleian, Beverland, gaily dressed as an officer, wrote his name in the Admission Book on September 17, 1672, and was asked from what country he came. "Zealand," he replied, and according to his own account of the incident the clerk was so surprised that he wrote under his name *Dominus Zealandiae*, or Lord of Zealand. Unfortunately for Beverland's memory these words are not to be found in the Admission Book, but were probably spoken by someone at the time when the haughty young man was signing his name.

Beverland now became a sojourner at the University, giving as his reason for coming that he wanted to work in the library. He made some literary connexions in Oxford, but he did not stay long there and soon returned to Leyden.

Whoever Beverland's father may have been it is probable that he was of the prosperous commercial class and wished his sons to have a good education.

[1] *Qui proficit in literis et deficit in moribus plus deficit quam proficit.*

The University was close at hand, and what was more natural than that two of the sons should attend and imbibe some of the learning that that institution was celebrated for imparting to its children? At the time when Hadrian applied for admission many famous scholars were on its books. Antoon Hulsius (1615–1685), the Protestant theologian and Orientalist, was Regent, and Gerard de Vries the Sub-Regent. The Theological Faculty boasted of the presence of Friedrich Spanheim (1632–1701), the famous son of an equally famous father, and Christoph Wittich (1625–1687), a German theologian who wrote a number of controversial works. The liberal arts were presided over by such scholars as the Regent himself and Theodor van Rycke (1640–1690), who was noted for his studies in classical history.

There seems little reason to doubt that Hadrian Beverland was a very able and industrious young man, full of energy and a desire to enjoy life to the full.

But before he began his University studies his debts had to be paid. These were considerable. He says that he owed some £200 to booksellers, tailors and milliners, and his guardians had to pay them off, although, according to Beverland, they did not chide him, since they appreciated his high-spirited demeanour. For in those days, he says, "no Boy or Man was more nimbleder in his steps and alacrious in his spirits". What, however, did chide him was his father's ghost, which appeared to him in a dream on more than one occasion, and rebuked him for wasting "the vectigal of his Parcimonie", as Beverland quaintly puts it.[1]

As soon as he entered the University he began to apply himself to his classical studies with the zest of a discoverer of a new world, although it is probable that the somewhat rigid discipline of the University authorites now and then interfered with his personal liberty. However that may be, it is clear that young Beverland devoured the classics with avidity; and he soon found that the ancient authors discussed subjects which were not regarded with favour by the theological and liberal faculties of Leyden. Moreover, it appears that Beverland's own development was proceeding rapidly, and that the charms of which Robert Burton wrote so eloquently in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*[2] were beginning to exercise a fascination which confirmed the praise lavished upon them by the ancient authors and even by more modern ones like Clément Marot (1495–1544), who summed up the virtues of a maiden's bosom in lines which have rarely since been equalled.[3]

Apart from Beverland's classical studies and less serious pursuits we know little of his activities at Leyden. University life as regards teachers and students varied as much then as they do today, and the little weaknesses of the senior members of the staff received the same merciless treatment by seventeenth-century undergraduates as is common in the modern seats of learning.

A good deal of amusement was said to be caused by some of the most

[1] See the Bodleian MS. Rawl., C. 344.
[2] *Anatomy of Melancholy* (London 1931), Pt. 3, Sect. 2, p. 677.
[3] See *Œuvres* (Niort, 1596), pp. 387–88.

distinguished scholars whose failures to lecture at the appointed times were ascribed by their classes to the effects of celebrations the previous night. Among those thus pilloried was the classical teacher and indefatigable collector of manuscripts Nikolaas Heinsius (1620–1681), whose illegitimate son must have been a wild young rascal whose disappearance owing to implication in a murder may have deprived the Netherlands of a promising writer. Old Heinsius himself was, it seems, not averse from more mundane pleasures than collating texts, and the tale was told how one day, returning none too steadily from a party, he composed a few lines to his legs in the hope of preserving some semblance of balance. "Keep standing, leg; keep standing up properly and don't be unsteady," he intoned; "keep standing, leg, or these stones here will be my resting place!"

Whatever may have been the details of Beverland's escapades, and however much he may be blamed for them, none of his teachers could doubt his devotion to the classics and his ambition to attain himself a purity of style which would do honour to Dutch classical scholarship. He read all that he could lay his hands on, and busily pursued the task of annotating the printed texts with long cross-references and other glosses of which examples in various editions of the classics are scattered up and down the libraries of Europe.

As the years at Leyden slipped by, a disturbing feature in Beverland's studies began to be noticed by the university authorites. It was observed that his interests were becoming too much attached to those ancient authors who dealt with subjects and used expressions which in these days are left untranslated, discreetly omitted or identified by a row of stars. Moreover, his reputation outside the University was none too good. His amorous exploits were beginning to excite comment; and it is to be feared that some of the curious items of knowledge that he annotated in the classical texts were being put to practical use in some of the more sinister nocturnal resorts of Leyden's adventurous youth.[1]

Never at any time gifted with much patience, and with a veiled and somewhat cynical contempt for the rather stuffy and insincere theology of the period, Beverland was unable to resist trying to annoy and exasperate the authorities, and so he determined to do something which he knew would excite them to a state of extreme annoyance, and at the same time prove to himself and to his friends that his interests were not unshared even in episcopal circles. The scheme he had in mind was very simple.

One of the best stylists of the sixteenth century was Giovanni della Casa (1503–1556), the Italian theologian and poet. He became not only Archbishop of Benevento but also Secretary of State to the Pope, and his Latin poetry and his book on the rules of politeness, *Galateo*, were much admired. Apart, however, from these harmless works, which pleased everybody, he was credited (whether rightly or wrongly I am not prepared to say) with two other works of a kind which our great libraries discreetly put away in reserved sections out of the way of prying eyes. One of them was a very odd book which appeared in 1538

[1] Cf. *t'Amsterdamsch Hoerdom* (Amst., 1681).

under the title of *Capitolo del Forno*, and the other, which may be the same text, twelve years later under the much less veiled title of *De laudibus sodomiae, seu paederastiae.*

It was this book which Beverland decided to reprint in a small privately issued edition for circulation among a selected few, and it is said that he actually did so, although I am not aware of any copy of this edition in any European library. In any case such a venture must have cost a considerable sum, and what with other extravagances and wild living a good part of the odd £2000 which he received in 1675 as a quarter of the estate of his father and mother soon vanished. All that was left was about £500 in cash and £300 worth of books.[1]

From what we know of Beverland's activities during this period it seems that he had been very busy making notes and writing various books, some of which have never perhaps seen the light in printed form.

It seems, however, that after leaving Leyden Beverland may have gone off to Utrecht, where he began to make use of the legal knowledge he had acquired at his University. But even this is not certain. All we know is that, supposedly in 1677, there was issued a pamphlet, probably printed in Utrecht, describing a forgery case in which Beverland was engaged in a legal capacity. Two versions at least of this pamphlet are known to exist, but so far as I am aware no other account of the case has appeared in printed form. Little did Beverland know when he was pleading so eloquently in a court of law that a storm was about to break over his head which would put him in a very different position from that of a lawyer defending or prosecuting a client. What happened seems to have been somewhat as follows.

In 1678 there appeared in Leyden a book bearing the obviously fictitious and mysterious imprint of "Eleutheropoli" and "Typis Adam et Evae". The book itself, *Peccatum Originale*, or "Original Sin", deals in a very unorthodox manner with this obscure subject, and recalls a similar tract published in 1532, which the great German theologian and astrologer H. C. Agrippa (1486–1535) compiled. This person was another very odd character. It was said that he was sometimes accompanied by a black dog, whose vocabulary was much more extensive than the talking dog of Royston, inasmuch as it whispered in his ear the secrets of world events. Half charlatan and half fanatic, Agrippa used to delight in startling the public with novel ideas, but it was hardly wise for Beverland to try the same game on the stodgy theologians of Leyden, who immediately hit back in no uncertain terms.

The edition of 1678 was soon followed by another in 1679, this time with Beverland's name on the title page, and with no place of publication, although

[1] These figures vary even in Beverland's own accounts. In one place he says that what he received from his parents' estate was £2160 and in another £2225 (which can be reckoned perhaps as about 26,700 gulden). Those of my readers who wish to make themselves more fully acquainted with the sources for the statements in the text will find most of those that I have used in the appendix to this chapter, where I have brought them together for the first time in English.

Beverland, on one of his presentation copies, has written in "Eleuteropoli Utopiensi",[1] while the same year still another edition was published with the Leyden imprint.

The theme of Beverland's book, like those of Agrippa and Robert Fludd, was very simple. It maintained that original sin consisted in the physical relation between the sexes, and that the whole story of the Fall was to all intents and purposes a tale in which the sexual act was the central core. In order to support his thesis Beverland included a mass of material drawn from his extensive acquaintances with the classics, and, as was to be expected, the appearance of the book created a sensation, especially, as the authorities suspected, quite rightly as it happened, that Beverland had written worse things. To cap everything, he had been having an affair with a young lady of easy virtue with whom, so rumour whispered, he had been amusing himself in a manner which, to say the least, was rather odd.

The authorities of the University quickly took action. Things looked so serious that Beverland himself took fright, and tried to excuse himself on the ground of his youth, for he was at that time only about twenty-seven years old. But it was of no avail. It was not only because of his treatise on original sin that action had to be taken. Two more works were known to exist; and these two alarmed the theologians and moralists to an even greater extent than the *Peccatum Originale*. One of them was what Beverland called an "academic lucubration", and dealt with virginity in an exceedingly peculiar manner.[2]

In somewhat florid style and exaggerated language Beverland emphasizes the amorous inclinations of women from childhood onwards and indeed declares that whatever he could say would fall short of the truth, since no voice could tell of the innate and complacent lechery of virgin or mature woman (p. 19).

Apart from these generalizations the book is full of the curious information that Beverland had picked up, and is certainly a remarkable production for so young a student. Some sections are of considerable social interest, such as those on the effect of certain underclothes on young women (p. 49), on methods of counterfeiting virginity (p. 52), and on the garments worn for circumventing the assaults of daring admirers.

Beverland's own predilections are well exemplified on p. 114, and his quotations from Dutch authors and even an English one must have profoundly shocked the Leyden theologians. What must they have thought of the exceedingly indecent verse, *Written Under Nelly's Picture*, by the Earl of Rochester, which Beverland transcribes in full on p. 43?

The other book was even worse. It dealt with sexual abnormalities in the

[1] This copy is now in the University Library, Cambridge.

[2] *De Stolatae Virginitatis jure lucubratio academica* (Lugduni in Batavis, 1680). The first edition of this book has a preface to Ulricus Huber (1636–1694), a famous Dutch jurist and authority on Roman law. It appears that at one time Beverland was taught by Huber and kept up an acquaintance with him, for we find a letter to Huber from Beverland among the latter's letters (*Epistolae XII*, Amstelodami, 1747).

ancient world, and was full of all the odd facts that Beverland had so carefully dug out of the classical authors. Of these two books the first must have either been known to the authorities in MS. or been published the year before that printed on the title page; but the second was never printed so far as I am aware, and one of the MSS. is still preserved in the library of the Rijks-Universiteit in Leyden.

With these three eloquent witnesses to the unfortunate results of Beverland's classical education, the University authorities hailed the culprit before them to answer in person for these "abominable" and "scandalous" productions, which could only be called "an abortion from depraved brains" (*een misdragt uyt verdorvene harssenen*). With bowed head Beverland had to listen to an oath that he had to repeat whereby he swore to recall the copies of his books, and to ask forgiveness of Almighty God for any injury that his detestable opinions had wrought upon others. Further, he had to promise solemnly not to continue to issue these books, which were contrary not only to Holy Scripture but to the principles of sexual honesty and good manners. Furthermore the MS. of his book on sexual aberrations (*De Prostibulis Veterum*) was to be given up, and he was to be fined a sum of one hundred silver ducats. All University privileges were to be withdrawn from him, and he was not only to be banished from Leyden itself but even from his own country, not being allowed to return without permission and under pain of corporal punishment.

The sentence was certainly severe, but Beverland had not treated the warnings that he had received with the seriousness that the occasion demanded. We know this from some letters which were written at the time by the great German scholar J. G. Graevius to N. Heinsius. He was of the opinion that the book on original sin lacked common sense and made a jest of sacred texts. Indeed, he thought that friendship or even acquaintance with the writer of such material might be injurious and damaging. But Beverland laughed off all such warnings; and Graevius, writing from Utrecht in November 1679, sums up the sentence and adds the story of how, in addition to the fine and banishment, the offending books were condemned to be burnt by the common hangman.

Beverland was thunderstruck, but the authorities were adamant. He had to leave; and as he was reeling under the blow another struck him from elsewhere. A Heusden theologian, Leonard van Rijssen by name, made a violent attack on his book on original sin. This man was a convinced follower of the tenets of Gisbert Voetius († 1676), who was mainly interested in the relation between the visible and invisible churches and the state. Such controversies abounded at that time, and the Voetians were continually arguing their point of view just as the Coccejans or followers of J. Coccius († 1669) were arguing theirs, which revolved around the precise interpretation of Holy Scripture.

In Rijssen's book,[1] with a preface signed by one Aemilius Cuilemborgh, Beverland is attacked and his "abominable blasphemies" refuted. This Cuilemborgh, or Cuylenburgh as his name is sometimes spelt, was a Dutch theologian and minister at Batenburg. He married the daughter of the Voetian, Andreas Essenius, and in 1692 was transferred to the Dutch community in London, dying on Canvey Island in 1704. As we shall see later, Beverland never forgave him for having combined with Rijssen in attacking him, and, considering the violence of the latter's onslaught, it is not surprising. "So the first sin was fornication, was it?" asks Rijssen, and his reply is short and to the point—"Stinking mouth!"

[1] *Justa detestatio sceleratissimi libelli Adriani Beverlandi, Icti de Peccato Originali* (Gorinchemi, 1680).

Each of Beverland's main points are then examined and each vehemently rebutted with such exclamations as "absurd" or "ridiculous", a proceeding which led Reimmann to style it "a learned, acute and important work in which Beverland is convicted of six hundred barbarisms, solecisms and puerile ineptitudes".[1]

Having been banished from Leyden, Beverland first of all went off to Utrecht, where he was forbidden to stay for long by the authorities, but remained, notwithstanding, for some time. He was busy with his revenge, and it took the form of a book under the name of an author who had only recently died. This was none other than Alardus Uchtmann, a theological writer, who would have been probably horrified had he known to what use his name was to be put by an unscrupulous writer of improper books.

The work[2] opens with a dedication to Beverland himself, "that very learned young man", and is signed with an expression of devotion. It is in essence a violent attack on the ministers and other authorities who were responsible for Beverland's banishment, and many of them are named in the margin. Thus the Zealand pastors are attacked (p. 24), and Rijssen and Oostrum mentioned (pp. 25, 30). This latter individual was Adrianus van Oostrum (died 1716), whose place in the Dutch community in London was taken by Cuilemborgh, as we have seen above, and who at one time had visited Beverland in Oxford and who was well aware of his many amorous escapades.

It is not certain whether this work appeared when Beverland was still in Utrecht or whether the first edition was issued after he had left. A second amended edition seems to have been published in Flushing in 1681, although the imprint is "1671". This has led some authorities to deny the existence of

[1] J. F. Reimmann, *Catalogus Bibliothecae theologicae systematico-criticus* (Hildesiae, 1731–39), I, p. 1057. He was also the author of the *Historia universalis Atheismi et Atheorum*, etc. (Hildesiae, 1725, 24), where on pp. 481–82 he discussed Beverland and also mentioned Rijssen's attack. He was certainly not sparing in his adjectives. He called Beverland's work "depraved, immoderate, unequal, conceited and most foolishly presumptuous". Moreover, it contained words and expressions which could only be styled "foul, obscene and extremely shameful". Even the poetasters were not silent and reviled Beverland for his theory of original sin which made our mother Eve appear as nothing better than a nasty strumpet. The verse ran:

> "*Hier leid den Heer van Beverland*
> *Gevangen doer en hoger Hand*
> *Om dat he onse beeste Moer*
> *Gemackt heft tot een voule Hoer.*"

[2] *Vox clamantis in deserto ad doctissimum juvenem Hadrianum Beverlandum, jurisperitum* (Mediolburgi [1680?]).

this edition, although, according to the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, a copy is on its shelves and it figured as Nr. 194 in the sale of the A. A. Renouard Collection in London on November 24, 1854. At any rate the book was not calculated to raise the reputation of its compiler, who promptly set out for England.

There seems little doubt who were the people who arranged for Beverland's exile to be spent in England. He had, as we know, visited Oxford in 1672, and had doubtless made some useful acquaintances, although these may have become somewhat distant after the revelations from Leyden. But two of his relations were living in England and both of them held positions of responsibility.

One of them was, as already mentioned above, Isaac Vossius, a Canon of Windsor. This very odd character was a passionate bibliophile, and his learning was never denied even by his enemies. He was one of those seventeenth-century theologians who preferred study of the classics to pastoral care, and, like Beverland, he was not at all shocked by the shamelessness of writers like Catullus or Martial, but regarded them as authors whose social pictures must be considered in relation to the times in which they lived. Indeed, it was thought that he had borrowed much from Beverland's MS. *De prostibulis veterum* so that he might insert it in his own edition of Catullus; and rumour had it that, scenting a scandal, he arranged that part of the book was to be printed in Leyden and part in London.

His interest in unseemly subjects was such that rumours were actually current after his death that he was the mysterious author of that erotic classic the *Satyra Sotadica de Arcanis Amoris et Veneris,* which was supposed to have been written in Spanish and then translated into Latin by the highly respectable Dutch classical scholar Johannes van Meurs (1579–1639).[1]

It cannot be denied, however, that Vossius had had a distinguished career in the world of learning. Although he could not speak foreign tongues with any degree of fluency, he could read many of them as well as Greek and Latin, but he was singularly ignorant of the events of the times in which he lived. At one time he was employed by that queer lady Queen Christina of Sweden to add to her collections of books and manuscripts; and it seems probable that he appropriated for himself many treasures which he was unable to resist, and the cost of which he put down to the Queen's account. Anyhow, the wanderings of that famous manuscript, the *Codex Argenteus*, a translation into Moeso-Gothic of the Gospels, is sufficiently suspicious to suggest that Vossius was not altogether ignorant of what had happened.[2]

On being made Canon of Windsor, Vossius settled down to a quiet life. Not only were the literary and artistic circles glad to hear him discoursing on

[1] See *Monatliche Unterredungen*, February 1693, p. 169. The real author of this work, which has been issued in numerous editions and translations, was the Grenoble lawyer, N. Chorier (1622–1692).

[2] Those who are sufficiently interested in this extraordinary story will find it in *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis* (Upsaliae, 1928), pp. 90 ff.

a variety of subjects, but it may well have been that the more light-hearted courtiers egged him on to talk of the classical writers and the remarkable things of which they sometimes wrote. He used often to take his meals with Madame Hortense de Mazarin († 1699), who delighted in his conversation. His lack of religious faith was often contrasted with his naïve credulity over other matters especially, it seemed, where the Orient was concerned, for, as Pierre Bayle said, he believed any tale, however ridiculous, that came from China.[1] Moreover, his lack of piety on his death-bed distressed his friends. It was reported that, when he was dying, Dean Gregory Hascard begged him to communicate, but Vossius waved him aside, saying that it would be much more to the point if he could tell him how he could get paid for what was owing to him. As Charles II was rumoured to have said, he was indeed a strange person, who believed in everything except the Bible.

Beverland's other relation in England was Sir Bernard de Gomme, who had married twice, and whose first wife was Beverland's mother by her former husband. He was a distinguished military engineer and designer of fortifications at Plymouth, Portsmouth and elsewhere, being later appointed the Surveyor-General of Ordnance.

With two such powerful protectors Beverland had little to fear. He knew that Vossius secretly had nothing against his classical interests, and he shrewdly suspected that the old man was rather pleased at the annoyance his nephew had caused to the Leyden theologians. He invited Beverland to stay with him at Windsor Castle, and there we find the exile writing to his brother Johan in March 1680.

He begins by congratulating himself that he has escaped to England, where he is living as the guest of Isaac Vossius in Windsor Castle. He cannot complain of his exile, for who would not rather live and enjoy the intimacy of Vossius than be oppressed and ridiculed in the land of the preaching sermonizers? As a matter of fact, "nobody," he says, "back in Holland lives as they are doing". To whatever is asked Vossius always has something new to reply. And as to the noise of the Voetians and the Coccejans—well, it is simply the battle of the frogs and mice. Only the other day when they were walking in the forest Vossius told him some charming stories about popular tribunals. And moreover, he is now being directed by his uncle and at last understands something about oratorical syllogisms. The letter closes with some satirical messages to C. Verpoorten, a former schoolmaster, saying that he can now free his nails from the pieces of the works of Vanini[2] which he had picked up when Beverland was held captive in the prison of the Leyden students.

As it was clearly impossible for Beverland to remain indefinitely at Windsor as the guest of Vossius, the latter looked about for a job for his nephew, and it is said that he obtained for him some kind of ecclesiastical preferment the details of which I do not know and concerning which the official solicitor of

[1] See P. Bayle, *Lettres choisies* (Rotterdam, 1714), Vol. III, p. 913.

[2] Evidently referring to Lucilio Vanini (1585–1619), the Italian sceptic.

the Ecclesiastical Commission in London and the Chapter Clerk at Windsor tell me they are unable to discover anything in the relevant archives.

Whatever the post may have been, it did not last very long, since about 1684 we find Beverland in the unexpected position of Gentleman of Horse to John Vaughan, the third and last Earl of Carbery (1640–1713), who had just returned from the governorship of Jamaica. It was to this man that Dryden dedicated his rather daring play *Limberham or, the Kind Keeper*, for the poet well knew that Carbery was conversant with both Latin and Greek and was noted for his wit and somewhat lewd ribaldry. Indeed, I suspect that one reason which prompted Carbery in his choice of Beverland was that he knew the latter would be exactly the person who might be able to supplement his own knowledge of those passages in the ancient authors which more queasy scholars might fight shy of explaining to him. Whatever may have been the reason, Carbery found Beverland a civil, honest and careful servant, handing over his accounts in a way which gained his master's satisfaction and approval.

At the end of two years' service with Carbery Beverland left his job, for something had happened which made him, at least for a time, independent. His stepfather, Sir Bernard de Gomme, died in 1685 and in his will, which was proved by John Riches the same year, he left to Beverland, among other legacies, the sum of £2000. This John Riches was a native of Amsterdam and stepson of Sir Bernard de Gomme, who left him in his will a good deal of property in Kent. Riches, who was naturalized by Charles II (19. Car. II., nr. 9, 1667), married Anne, the daughter of Thomas Davall, and their daughter, Catharina, became the famous Mrs. Boevey, who co-operated with Mrs. Mary Pope in many philanthropic enterprises.

How far Sir Bernard had been supporting Beverland prior to his service with Carbery we do not know. But it appears that even in 1694 Beverland was complaining that he was being "so abused at Winsor", and John Riches was writing to him pointing out how much money he had received both from his own estate and from Sir Bernard, and how even he was beginning to repent at having wasted so much of it. For if the truth be told, the fact was that Beverland was spending far too much on books, engravings, medals and other objects, among which were some which could not be openly exhibited but had to be discreetly tucked away in the dark recesses of what the French call a "*cabinet secret*".

After his stepfather's death Beverland began to grow more and more restless. He travelled about, and 1689 found him in London and 1690 again at Oxford, where he stayed for a whole year, and it was at this time that he apparently compiled a MS. entitled *Otia Oxoniensia*, in which he collected some classical essays, and of which there seems to have been more than one copy. The great German book collector and traveller Z. C. Uffenbach had one specimen, which was bound up with a MS. of that highly improper play *Sodom*, which has been attributed to the Earl of Rochester. Unlike the MS. of the same play in the British Museum, this copy is poor in quality and seems

to have been copied by a person not fully acquainted with the English language, and I cannot help harbouring the suspicion that it may have been the work of Beverland himself, since he was acquainted with Rochester's works. At any rate this copy of the *Otia Oxoniensia* does not appear to have been the only one, for we find Jacques Bernard, who succeeded Pierre Bayle as the editor of the journal *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, saying in the issue for October 1699, p. 468, that Beverland had sent a number of works to Holland to be printed, among them a copy of the *Otia*. Unfortunately, when the parcel was opened and examined, the contents so shocked the recipients that it was said that the MSS. were consigned to the flames, although those burning them were not aware that another copy of the Oxford book was in existence and, having passed via Uffenbach to J. C. Wolf, was left by him to the Stadt Bibliothek in Hamburg.

What seems to have been a third copy was presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford and was acknowledged by Bodley's librarian, John Hudson (1662–1719). Writing to Beverland on April 20, 1711, he says that the manuscript had been received and, adding that he found pleasure in reading it, stated that it had been placed among the library's treasures, and that the Vice-Chancellor joined with him in thanking the donor for his gift.[1]

The year before Beverland moved to Oxford, where, it seems, he was compiling his essays on classical subjects, he learnt that his uncle, Isaac Vossius, had died at Windsor. The loss of his protector must have been a severe blow to him. Sir Bernard de Gomme was already dead; and little by little Beverland was being deprived of all those who had made his exile bearable. His finances, moreover, were far from satisfactory. With the two thousand that Sir Bernard had left him he had apparently bought an annuity which had been arranged in connexion with the estate of Lord Halifax, and from this annuity he had received £1000 between 1687 and 1709. He was still collecting engravings, books, medals, shells and various natural curiosities; and it was probably a mutual interest in such things that brought Beverland to the notice of Sir Hans Sloane, the famous physician and connoisseur, whose collections were finally to pass to the nation and form one of the foundations of the British Museum.

It seems that about this time Beverland was occupying himself with some work on inscriptions, the result of which did little to enhance his reputation for either scholarship or honesty. From what the elder Henry Dodwell says in his *Praelectiones Academicae* (Oxonii, 1692), p. 334, it appears that Paul Petau had once prepared a collection of inscriptions for the press, parts of which Isaac Vossius had memorized and written down. Subsequently, he gave this manuscript to Beverland, who in turn was said to have taken a copy of it which he sent to Dodwell. The great antiquary Thomas Hearne (1678–1735)

[1] *Batavi in Britannia hospiti Otia Oxoniensia M. DC. XC.* (MS. Bodl. 404. Summary Catalogue, 27710, V, p. 346.) In this MS. there are thirty essays and two prefaces. Among the papers are articles on Circumcision and Abraham, Celsus, and Constantine.

seems to have got hold of a copy before it was published in 1725,[1] and in looking through it came to the conclusion that many of the inscriptions were certainly not genuine but were made up partly from original material and partly from Beverland's own fancy. It is among these inscriptions that we find various versions of Beverland's epitaph in which he says that those who read do not wish to lie where he is now lying.

As to Beverland's own collections, he used to delight in showing off his treasures to distinguished visitors, and so we find in the journal of the great Dutch mathematician Christian Huygens (1629–1695) an account of how he visited Beverland in 1692 at his lodgings in Newport Market Street in London, and how the collections were stored in big locked cases four to five feet broad.

Beverland's interest in Huygens was not, I think, due solely to his wish to show his collection to so important a compatriot. For at about this time a plan was beginning to form in Beverland's mind by which it might be possible for him to return to Holland and pass the remaining years of his life with his own people. The death of Vossius had opened a way by which, Beverland thought, this might be done, and he therefore took every opportunity to ingratiate himself with those who might be influential in furthering his cause.

When his uncle died, the question of the disposal of his magnificent library excited the interest of all the British and Continental bibliophiles, who were aware of the unique opportunities Vossius had had in acquiring manuscripts, printed books and rare items of every description. A somewhat unseemly wrangle followed, for on the one side English scholars were desirous of acquiring the collection for Oxford, and on the other, Dutch savants were determined that the library should be bought for Leyden. In this quarrel Beverland saw his chance. As nephew of Vossius, and at the same time with many literary connexions at Oxford, he soon realized that, if he could act as a go-between, he might serve the contending parties and maybe, by secretly favouring the Dutch, he might be rewarded by a formal pardon and the cancellation of the decree pronouncing his exile.

He therefore entered into the controversy with much gusto; and apparently the Dutch realized that it was necessary to use him, although it seems that, for various reasons, they were not particularly anxious to employ so odd an assistant. If the truth must be told, Beverland was getting more and more difficult every year, and the son of Isaac Vossius, who was helping to conduct the business from the Dutch end, received some very unpleasant letters from him, which confirmed the stories that were going about concerning his behaviour in London. For not only was he apparently living with Rebecca Tibbith, the former maid of Isaac Vossius, and had had a daughter, Anna, by her, but he never apparently thought of legalizing the union, while at the same time his conduct over the question of his pardon was most unseemly.

According to Christian Huygens, Beverland turned up one day to see him,

[1] *Inscriptiones singulares hactenus ineditae.* In Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle* (Oxford, 1725), Vol. I, pp. clxxii ff.

and had the impudence to say that he was surprised to hear that Samuel de Wilde, Huygen's secretary, had asked for sixty gulden for expenses in connexion with the proceedings relating to his return to Holland. Huygens simply told him that it was not customary to haggle over such matters; although it seems that he was not fully aware of Beverland's financial straits. As a matter of fact he was making desperate attempts to raise money, and had even attempted to sell to the King some material from his own library for a new atlas, which had apparently been proposed about 1678 by Moses Pitt, a London bookseller.

In order to further his plan to get his exile shortened, he himself is said to have dispatched a supplication to the Stadtholder, King William of Orange, on December 26, 1692, in which he begged that this favour might be granted to him. It seems that his request was favourably received, but for some reason or other it does not seem to have been followed by the result for which Beverland had hoped. It has been suggested, I think, that after he had received a reply from the Dutch authorities, he was so elated and his behaviour became so odd that the Dutch ecclesiastics in London began to use their influence against the recommendation being put into effect, with the natural result that Beverland came to the conclusion that a whispering campaign was in progress which would prevent him from ever returning to Holland.

But he made one further attempt to show what he could do if given the chance. When the gracious Queen Mary II died in 1694 he composed a lamentation for use at her funeral which has never been printed and which does not seem ever to have attracted the attention which doubtless he hoped that it might achieve.[1] He now became moody and morose, and it was soon evident to those who knew him that he was developing what could only be described as a mild form of persecution mania. Nevertheless he soon realized that, if his dearest wish was to be fulfiiled, he must mend his ways, and so he began to set about devising a means whereby he could prove to his enemies that he had turned over a new leaf and henceforward meant to behave himself.

The situation was well summed up in a letter which Edward Browne, the son of Sir Thomas Browne and later President of the Royal College of Physicians, wrote to Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), the famous French theologian, whose opinions on original sin could hardly be considered orthodox, and who at that time was living in Amsterdam.

Browne began his letter by telling Le Clerc that Beverland was returning to Holland, since the decree against him had been cancelled. He declared that many people were rejoicing at the news of the repeal of the sentence, and that some of his friends were raising money to facilitate his return. Indeed, even some of his enemies were congratulating him on the good news. No one who had any respect for learning, Browne continued, could not but pity Beverland in his misfortune, for he had been of great service in polishing the classical style of English writers, and his absence would be much regretted, since his conversation was extremely agreeable.

[1] *Planctus funebris in obitum Reginae Mariae* (see the Bodleian MS. D'Orville, 480).

Cazzo, and that D. de Woude had been drunk in the Pulpit. . . . The Dutch Parsons will bring you upon the Stage. . . . Bull and Belsebul makes you odious to the Nation."

The letter proceeds in this vein for some time and then returns to the machinations of Henry Bull. "The *Vox Clamentis* Gang advance monies to Henry Bull, and other Beasts to keep you Company, to Admire, to Flatter you, to Debauch with you, and to put all their Romances of Eclypsis in the Moon, upon your Score. When you Dined with H. Bull, and Fifty Persons more in the Spring Gardens, where Bullius a Basham, now at Milbank, put a Gentlemen's [*sic*] *Lowys-d'or* in his Pocket, afraid you should tell this to the Dutch, he put his Crime at your Door, and expos'd your Clam all the Nation over, through the Watchmen and Beadles; and to get Credit to his Lye, perswaded the old Lord Peterborough to put you upon a Tryal: Ordered also the Drawers to tempt you with Spoons and Napkin."

As the letter proceeds and gets more and more wild, Beverland cannot help bringing in reminders of his past life and the suspicions that were prevalent that even after his repentance he was still behaving in an unseemly way. Thus Perino (or Montenack) says that he has heard a tale of how Beverland had visited St. Bartholomew's Fair and had pulled a girl's smock "out of the slit of her Tail". He also says that Tucker's[1] porter "sent an old Trot to Tower-Wharf to tempt you" and "upon searching what old Woman she was, I found she was Bagford's[2] Landlady".

As the letter proceeds, the stories become more and more scandalous, and the state of Beverland's mind is clearly revealed. "You have 80l. Stal a Year," writes Perino. "You have no debts. No Body lives more Decent and Regular than you." Yet people are being misled "by Lilli Bull Liro and Laro,[3] and even more indecent stories are being spread around such as those by the "mischievous Tempest", who whispers that "you love Maiden-Heads".

Beverland's command of the English language was severely strained in

[1] Tucker was an auctioneer of the period.

[2] According to Beverland his three principal persecutors were Henry Bull, Bagford and Tempest. These are the "three impostors" of two other variants of Perino del Vago's letter, namely the *Perini del Vago, Equitis de Maltha, epistolium ad Batavum in Britannia hospitem de tribus Impostoribus*, etc., London [*c.* 1708], and *A discovery of the three Impostors, Turd-sellers, Slanderers and Piss-sellers* of about the same date and also probably printed in London. For a further discussion of these editions see appendix to this chapter.

It has been suggested that the three impostors were three English bishops, but the facts do not sustain this view. Henry Bull was certainly not a Bishop, and Bagford was almost certainly the famous John Bagford (1650–1716), a collector of books and broadsides who was noted for tearing out many a frontispiece of a rare volume to add to his scrapbook, and of whose material much is now in the British Museum. The third impostor was Pierce Tempest (1653–1717), a printseller in London, whose eagerness to secure material for his collection made him almost as suspect as Bagford regarding the means he took to acquire it. Beverland's hatred of these two dealers originated, I think, in the idea that they were conspiring to acquire by fair means or foul some of the gems of his collection, and his continual financial embarrassment made it difficult for him to refuse offers, however small, for his prints and books.

[3] This clearly refers to the ballad "Lero lero lilibulero", which was all the rage about 1688.

his attempt to vilify the three impostors. Tempest was "that cursed flatterer" and "prophanest Reprobat". They played tricks of every sort upon the exiled Dutchman and, as Beverland expressed it, tried to make "a Tennissball of a Forreigner". It was, indeed, difficult to choose between them. Tempest was accused of putting "sweet youthful Maids in the Streets", pretending that they came from the country and were looking for a situation. He sent "Girrls into the Fiels, who with a wanton eye could move olds mens entrails", and "Wensches" into his room with his "Linnen Oisters and Orang Appels who breath life into Deathmen". Evidently they knew Beverland's little weaknesses! One girl told him, he says, that he had "lived merry all his life". "Alackaday," he complained, "only for loaking fresh in a frosty evening you must be suspected to be a Deboche."[1]

Bull was worse. He beguiled Beverland into amorous adventures, and the latter tells a tale of how they all went to a garret "to see three country Lasses with straw hats". Bull soon showed his intentions; for, as Beverland puts it, he had not come "for to hunt Butterfles". But Beverland knew their tricks, so contents himself with describing the orgy in very vulgar terms, and ending up with this outburst against the three and their machinations. "Let them Lices who suk their livelyhood out of our carcass glorys in their guile. You avoid their Companyie."

The letter having been concluded, Beverland takes up his pen to answer it, and his reply still further reveals the confusion of his mind. "If the Mystery of the Plot lies hidden in the bottom of Hell," he writes, "it will not only be difficult to draw it out of the Dunghil, but also dangerous to disturb the Dragons, Snakes and Hornets." He then goes on to say that he "cannot but be amaz'd at the frightful Squibs thrown against me. If D. Oosterom had not met me in my Abode in Oxford, and D. Culenburg had not succeeded him, no body ever had thought upon me." He then goes on to enumerate those concerned in the plot. There is the *Vox Clamantis* Gang and "The Freeboter", who objects to his selling anything to a Gentleman or Lord. Then there is his housekeeper, "who if Guilty, is the ungratefullest Carrion in the World against me, and the wickedest Reprobate against God", and also "her Galants who lives [*sic*] upon Servant-Maids". There are some petty lawyers and also "my false Bosom Friends who betray and Belye me". Finally, there are the "Coquins who intoxicate my Drink and the Beadels and Watchmen, who endeavour to ensnair me".

"This Hellish Vexation" is, Beverland thinks, both detestable and unpardonable. "They take me for Mad: Truly their Conscience make [*sic*] them Distracted." Beverland then goes on to describe some poisoning attempts, and continues by stating that "girls nocks [*sic*] at my Door at 10 a Clock in the Night", and in the day time they "runs into my House and says will you buss me?" Even worse things happened to him. "A young Jade rund before me

[1] See Bodleian MS. Rawl. *c.* 344, 11b. A variation of this exclamation will be found in the British Museum MS. Sloane 1985.

and boldly assaulting, hold up her Coats and showed me her Purch, lin'd with red Crimson."[1]

In a later edition[2] of one of this series the idea that Beverland is being followed by persons bent on murdering him becomes more and more apparent. "A Giant came to me, and asked if any Body kill'd you, who should prosecute him? A Murtherer with an Incision-Knife sent for me to a Tavern at the waterside." Yet as to himself he is still full of kindness and compassion. "You see daily," he writes, "that *cruento dento lacessitus*, the Long Sufferer, is in all Appearance good and gentle, striving to conquer his Adversaries with Generosity" (p. 16).

Late in 1702, or later as some authorities think, another queer tract[3] was issued by Beverland containing additional material to that we have already considered, but put together in the same rather crazy way. It begins with the usual letter from Perin del Vago, followed by H. B.'s *Responsio*, and then goes on to P.D.V.'s letter to Mr. H. B. in English. "Whereas I am informed" it begins, "that many Oxen are come about you, that fat Bulls of Basan close you in on every side," it behoves the writer to enumerate the sufferings of his correspondent. The "wretched Tempest, who is the cause of your ruin", is mentioned (p. 11), but is it not true on the other hand that "all Scholars have a most deep respect for your Worth and Learning?" So therefore all that can be done is to "run on this glorious Race in spight of Envy".

Beverland's answer is similar to those in the other tracts, although there are variations. He goes back to the question of the authorship of the *Vox Clamantis* (see p. 153) and declares that it was by Dr. Hill of Rotterdam, while Beverland's brother inserted the marginal notes. The letter ends by asserting that the writer must be on his guard, as "there is a League between my Enemies and the Whores" (p. 15).

By the time that this curious series of tracts was completed it was clear that Beverland's persecution mania was growing with alarming rapidity. Indeed, two more odd productions suggested to his friends that he was devising means of defending himself against his persecution. The first[4] of these was a curious compilation printed in London and probably distributed by Beverland among his acquaintances. It consists of a number of letters or rather testimonials sent to Beverland and collected by him in order to prove his moral worth and the excellence of his character. It begins by one from the Earl of Carbery, and

[1] Cf. the "crimson velvet" of *Little Merlin's Cave*, 4th ed. (London, 1737), p. 3.
[2] *Seignior Perin del Vagoo's Letter to Mr. H. B. J. U. Q. L.* [London, 1710].
[3] *A Hue and Cry after the Bulls of Bashan. P. D. V.'s epistola ad H. B.* [London, 1702].
[4] *Although my Innocency is shelter'd with a Bulwark of Vertues, nevertheless I find the same undermin'd in its own Garrison; therefore I must call to the Allies to assist against so many legions: and if that don't do, I shall implore our Sovereign to grant me Hercules that he may perform the thirteenth Blow* (London, 1709). A later edition, which is thought from internal evidence to have been issued about 1712, varies considerably from the 1709 edition. Thus in the title, Beverland no longer calls upon the King to grant him Hercules, but merely calls to the Allies "*to assist against the Crew of Captain Bentivoglio, the Centaurn*". In one of the copies annotated by Beverland himself, and now in the British Museum, the *rn* in "Centaurn" is crossed out, and *er* is added, together with the words "at Cantelberry".

among others testifying are Edward Bernard, Thomas Creech, Jacob Astry, William Wyatt and other distinguished Oxford men.

There seems little doubt that many of these letters are genuine, although I am of the opinion that one or two of them must be regarded with some suspicion. On the other hand, it may be that some of the correspondents, knowing Beverland's mental condition, accommodated themselves to the position in order to satisfy Beverland's request. Thus a certain C. Christian, who was probably the engraver in Covent Garden, says he was never more satisfied in his life than with the "Dealing of Dr. Hadrian Beverland", and he thanked Heaven that he had had the fortune "to be so happy to have transacted with a Person" of so generous a soul, whom "God preserve against Bull and Belsebul".

One letter from Thomas Yeate is interesting, since it describes an event at the time of Bartholomew Fair when Beverland entered his shop complaining that he was being followed by children, one of whom accused him of putting his hand "in a Woman's Pocket or her Coats". This incident is said to have occurred between 1687 or 1688, so it seems that Beverland's persecution mania began soon after the death of Sir Bernard de Gomme and before that of Isaac Vossius.

By 1712 Beverland's condition was poor. His persecution phantasies were becoming more numerous and his delusions, which had now lasted in one form or another for about fifteen years, were becoming systematized and were worrying him more and more. He wandered about the country trying to avoid his imaginary enemies, although it seems that his headquarters were somewhere in Fulham, where he had lodgings at the house of a Mr. Gray. Moreover, his financial condition was becoming increasingly embarrassing.

One difficulty in disposing of his collections seems to have been the fact that the prices he asked were in excess of what people wanted to pay. For example, among the unprinted correspondence of Sir Hans Sloane in the British Museum (Sloane 3963) is a letter to Beverland in which Sloane says that he would be glad to buy some of them (i.e. medals) at a moderate price, "but I find you putt so great a one on most of them that I will not give you near what you ask".

It was, perhaps, about this time that Beverland had printed a curious announcement which, it seems, was sent to his friend Sloane, as it still exists among the latter's papers in the British Museum (Sloane 1985). It reads thus:

> Mr. *Hadrian Beverland* being continually Scandaliz'd and Destroy'd for his Pictures sake, gives Notice that no Body speaks to Him in the Streets. Them who Poisons his Hands and Foots, He sends to the *Lake* of *Brimstone* of Dr. S. which is enlarged; *auspice L. Le Belle videro di Seignior mio*, will be expos'd to Sale after Christmas. There shall be the true Canis Marinus of the late Mr. *Vande Velde*, who is lately canoniz'd among the *Classick* at *Antwerp*, following immediately after *Rubens* and *Van-Dyke*. Their *Guineas* will be chang'd into *Broad-Pieces*; if ye don't hark to the Boisterous Tempest. *De gli Bestia Triumphante.*

Whatever may have been the motive behind this odd announcement it is clear that Beverland had determined to sell his pictures. In March 1693 he had sold his choice collection of books to Lord Sunderland for, as he says, the sum of £200, although he adds that it had cost him three times that amount. But his paintings remained, and so it seems that about this time he determined to offer these for sale. In order to advertise the sale Beverland drew up what is, I think, the oddest catalogue ever issued. Two versions are known, but there is little to choose between them.[1] In one of the editions the sale is not dated but is advertised for Easter Week, and the name of the person selling the pictures and the place of the sale is omitted. In the other, which was probably a later edition, it is said that they were to be sold at auction at the house of the late Mr. Du Bois "at the Upholder, the corner of the little Piazza in Russel-Street, Covent Garden, in Easter Week".

In introducing his pictures to the public, Beverland states that the collection cost a thousand pounds, although it was whispered that, as they were all copies, they were not worth fifty. Among the artists represented were said to be Teniers, Simon Verelst, whose pictures of flowers and fruit had a great vogue in England, and C. van Poelenburg, whose picture of Diana and Callisto must have been one of Beverland's favourites, as elsewhere he calls this artist "my uncontroulable Darling Polenburg", although I suspect he means not the artist but the picture, or rather one of the nymphs in it.

After the list of the pictures for sale Beverland continues this strange catalogue with another of his diatribes against his persecutors. He says that a certain Vultuosus has visited him and pitied his condition, asking him if he ought not to leave everything to his wife. To this suggestion he replies by the following exceedingly odd production:

(The Song of the Borts of pray,) I have no Wife
The Devil Upon Two Crutches
Chear! Chear!
Hier.
Carry me to Hell.
I do not know my L. where Hell is: But if it may please your L. I carry you to the Devil.
Go unto the Devil Tavern.
What upon Crutches!
I am very Old, if it may please your L.
No Old Devil can please me. Have you no younger Devils in Hell?
Yes, Long Brown, who carries little Davits upon his Shoulders:
What is become of little Gibson?

[1] *Hadriani Beverlandi patrimonii sui reliquiae. Being the cream of his paintings. To be sold by auction in Covent Garden* [London, 1711?].

Apart from his pictures Beverland was so hard pressed for cash that he was even offering his furniture for sale. Thus in another letter to Sloane he lists among the articles to be sold "a dining Tabel" at fourteen shillings; "A Dutch Thee Tabel" at twenty-five shillings; and a "Harm Chair" at fourteen.

etc. He then continues to say that the Dutch parson is being instigated to send him to Holland so that he could get his books again, but this delusion is soon dismissed in favour of others, and he ends with the rather piteous complaint that his ale "was prikt last night".

Unfortunately we have very little evidence from independent sources on the subject of Beverland's condition during these latter years of his life. Z. C. von Uffenbach, the German bibliophile and writer, was in London in 1710, and visited various scholars so as to inspect their collections. One of these was Benedetti, who showed Uffenbach a thin folio volume which had belonged to Beverland and which the latter stated had cost him 125 guineas. Uffenbach thought this was a frightful price, as he himself would have given hardly three for it, although the sketches had been made by Sir Bernard de Gomme. It seems highly probable that the inflated price that Beverland put upon the volume was in order to get a good price for it when he sold it; and I cannot help suspecting that Sir Bernard had given it to him and that it had not cost him a penny piece.

Benedetti also showed Uffenbach two catalogues, one of Beverland's pictures and the other of his coins, although I am not aware if any printed edition of the latter has survived. Hearing that Beverland was at that time living at Fulham, Uffenbach wanted to go to see him, but he was informed that Beverland no longer received any visitors as he fancied that everybody was against him and seeking his life. In particular it was said that he was loud in his complaints against his mistress, whom he had to take into his house to live with him since the birth of their daughter.[1]

Beverland's condition was now serious. He was not only mentally unstable and suffering from persecution mania but was also physically incapacitated. In 1710, when Uffenbach wanted to visit him, he was laid up in bed for some four months and was complaining that he was reduced to a skeleton. He was also afflicted with almost constant gout and to add to his misfortunes he was, as he puts it, "rackt with the Stoone". Yet he lingered on, becoming more and more suspicious every day, so that it seemed that sometimes he forgot who was persecuting whom and maintained that the three impostors were turning against one another.

The precise date of his death has for long been a matter for doubt. He was certainly alive on July 16, 1712, as on that day Mary Bradfield witnessed a statement that he had lodged in Oxford in 1690. It has been generally thought that he died that year, but a manuscript (Rawl. D. 400) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which is almost certainly in Beverland's handwriting, has "1715" written at the top of one sheet, and it seems possible that this is also written by Beverland, although positive proof is lacking. Evidence buried in a mass of manuscript material, however, strongly suggests that this date was actually written by Beverland himself, since I have now established the date of his death

[1] See Z. C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*. 3 pts. (Ulm und Memmingen, 1753–54), Th. 3, p. 245.

with an absolute certainty. Among the papers preserved in Add. MS. 4221 in the British Museum is a part of a sheet written in French and referring to Beverland. Here it is stated that he died in Henrietta Street on December 14, 1716, aged 66, and was buried in "Com. Garden Church Yard"[1] within the rails next the Church, and that there was an inscription on his tomb. It is clear from this that he was in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, at the time of his death, where he may have been visiting his friend Mr. C. Christian, the engraver, who lived there. Confirmation of the statement is supplied by the burial registers of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, where we read that he was buried there on December 18, 1716.

It seems that during his life Beverland made at least two wills. One of them, dated July 5, 1703, is in manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane 1985); the other, dated January 21, 1704, and written in London, is apparently a transcript from another manuscript and was written out by Kornelis van Alkemade, being subsequently presented along with other papers to the Zealand Society of Sciences by H. W. Tydeman.[2]

The second will was printed in Middelburg in 1878 and is a document of some interest. Opening with a note on the uncertainty of human life and the certainty of final death, Beverland continues by making as his sole heir Catharina, the daughter of Christophorus Beverland, and names as his executors Dr. Thomas Smith (1638–1710), the famous Oxford bibliophile, and Dr. "Henr. Sloan". The latter must almost certainly be Sir Hans Sloane, who was well acquainted with Beverland, and to whom many of his manuscripts came when the latter's possessions were dispersed, or maybe Beverland sent them to his friend when still alive. Having remembered his "housekeeper", Rebecca Tibbith, and her daughter Anna, he ends with a few words to the good women who close his eyes, not forgetting to include a version of his epitaph, which, it will be remembered, he was composing in a number of different forms when editing his volume of inscriptions. "Here I lie," he writes, "here where thou who readest this dost not wish to be."

Thus ended the life of Hadrianus Beverlandus, one of the oddest classical scholars who ever lived, and one who might have done better had he concentrated on law rather than on classical texts. But even though his reputation suffered from the nature of his studies and the terms of his will were not perhaps put into effect, he made sure that Oxford should not forget him. In 1692 he presented his portrait to the Ashmolean and this or another one is still preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is an unfinished picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), the famous painter of royalty. Beverland is shown with his head turned towards the spectator. He is clean-shaven, with brown hair, and is wearing an open-necked white shirt with full sleeves. Over his shirt he wears a brown silk cloak with blue lining and in his right hand he holds a little parchment-bound book. Unfortunately we know nothing of the circumstances in which the picture was painted by Kneller. The artist had a considerable reputation for the realism of his work and the poet Dryden put the matter quite plainly when he wrote:

> Of various parts a perfect whole is wrought,
> Thy pictures think, and we divine their thoughts.

Perhaps it is just as well that the generations of Oxford students cannot divine the thoughts of Hadrian Beverland! But even in death his enemies followed him as if to confirm him in his delusions. Beverland was hardly in his grave than the lean Gnat of Yorkshire came after him to implant on him, as it were, a final sting. Pierce Tempest was buried in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, on April 4, 1717. He had followed the Lord of Zealand to the Other World.

[1] "Com. Garden" refers to Common or Covent Garden. According to H. Misson (*Memoirs and observations in his travels over England*, London, 1719, p. 57), the French, "seeing this Square to be a Market for Fruit, Flowers, and all Sorts of Greens and other Garden-Stuff, have changed its Name into *Common Garden*". Cf. *The New Towne or the description of Common Garden* (London, 1633).

[2] See *Arch. Zeeuwsch Genootschap d. Wetenschappen*, 1878, Dl. 3, pp 145-52. The earlier will of 1703 differs from the later one inasmuch as it makes Anna, the daughter of Rebecca Tibbith and himself, his sole heir.

APPENDIX

Hadrian Beverland: Lord of Zealand

The life of Hadrian Beverland presents few problems to the modern student. He was high-spirited, sceptical, industrious and imaginative, but the seeds of his later paranoid condition were planted quite early in his life. It is true that his character showed certain weaknesses; and the nature of his studies merely accentuated them instead of obliterating them. The severe sentence that he received at Leyden, whereby he was exiled from his own country, first suggested to him the idea of persecution, and when Vossius and Bernard de Gomme were dead he found himself alone.

He was always extravagant, and could not resist buying books and prints, and thus his limited income was soon exhausted and the suspicion that he was being swindled was slowly aroused. This was the root of his persecution phantasies, and once these began to flourish they blossomed exceedingly. The results were tragic. His classical studies were allowed to slacken, and his able pen merely composed tract after tract of idle accusations. Full of promise at the beginning, his life was more or less wasted. We do not know what happened to his mistress or to their child. Even the history of his brothers is not fully known, although it is possible that Catherina, the daughter of his brother Christophorus, may be the "Catharina Beverlander" who in 1725

married Steven van Rouen, an Amsterdam merchant (see *De Navorscher*, 1933, lxxxii, p. 171).

As I am not aware that the life of Beverland has hitherto been treated in English in any way fully, I propose here to list some of the sources that I have used in the main text, and to offer the student some help in following up the obscure bibliography of Beverland's works.

One of the best accounts of Zealand up to the end of the seventeenth century is M. Smallegange's *Nieuwe Cronyk van Zeeland* (Middelburg, 1696), which gives much information about local celebrities but discreetly omits Beverland and his family. Later works are to be found, however, which give a few details. Some of those that I have found useful are:

H. L. Benthem. *Holländischer Kirch -und Schulen-Staat* (Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1698), Th. ii, pp. 451–53. It is from this work that F. Halma derived most of his material in his *Tooneel der Vereenigde Nederlanden en onderhorige Landschappen* (Te Leewarden, 1725), i, p. 135.

A. Beyer. *Memoriae historico-criticae librorum variorum* (Dresdae & Lipsiae, 1734), pp. 225–28.

P. de la Rue. *Gelettered Zeeland* (Middelburg, 1734), pp. 7–11.

J. G. de Chauffepié. *Nouveau dictionnaires hist. et critique* (Amst., La Haye, 1750–56), p. 282. A convenient summary with which cf. P. Bayle, *A general dictionary*, etc. (1735), p. 302.

I. B. L. Osmont. *Dictionnaire typographique* (Paris, 1768), I, p. 98.

J. Kok, *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek* (Amst., 1785–96), 6. Dl., pp. 528–30. Mainly derived from Benthem and Rue.

J. C. Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (Leipzig, 1785), Th. i, pp. 20–46. A general survey but must be used with caution.

J. A. de Chalmot. *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Amst., 1798–1800), 3. Dl., pp. 43–48.

J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber. *Allg. Encycl. der Wiss. und Künste* (Leipzig, 1818, etc.), Th. ix, pp. 360 ff.

J. Granger. *A biographical history of England from Egbert the Great to the Revolution*, 5th ed. (London, 1824), V, p. 294. The author was of the opinion that Beverland's works, "together with his name, deserve to sink into oblivion". On the other hand it is admitted that his style was so good that "what was said of Petronius has been applied to him; 'that he is *scriptor purissimae impuritatis*'."

A. J. van der Aa. *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1852–78), 2. Dl., pp.491–94.

M. F. Lantsheer and F. Nagtglas. *Zelandia illustrata* (Middelburg, 1866–80), I, p. 358.

F. Nagtglas. *Levensberichten van Zeeuwen* (Middelburg, 1890–93), I, p. 36. For Johan Beverland see p. 38.

P. C. Molhuysen and others. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911, etc.), 7. Dl. (1927), pp. 126–27.

In his *Fasti Oxonienses* (London, 1815–1820), II, 334, A. A. Wood says that "one Hadrian Beverland, who entitles himself Dominus Zelandiae, became a sojourner in Oxon for the sake of the public library", and it appears from the Bodleian Admission Book that it was in September 1672. It was in 1673 that

both Hadrian and Christophorus were inscribed on the rolls of the Academy of Leyden, for which see the *Album Studiosorum Acad. Lugduno-Batavae* (Hagae Comitum, 1875), cols. 583 and 585.

The story of N. Heinsius was told by F. Gribble in *The Court of Christina of Sweden* (London, 1913), p. 91, with which may be compared line 245 of the Hymnus Bacchi of Heinsius in his *Poematum nova editio* (Amst., 1666).

At the time of writing I am not aware that Beverland's reprint of the erotic work attributed to Della Casa has been recorded as existing in any library or private collection. That he knew of the existence of the *Capitolo del Forno* is clear from a passage in his *Peccatum Originale*, 1679 ed., p. 56, but it is still uncertain whether this is the same work as the *De laudibus sodomiae, seu paederastiae*, which was supposed to have been issued in Venice in 1550. The *Capitolo del Forno* was included (pp. 136 ff.) in *Tutte le Opere del Bernia in terza rima* (1542), a French translation being issued in *La Curiosité litt. et bibliographique*, 4. sér (Paris, 1881–84), sér. i, 52 ff., and a German translation, *Der Backofen*, in Munich in 1923.

N. H. Gundling's criticism of the assertions of A. Baillet concerning Della Casa's authorship in the *Jugemens des Savans* is included in Della Casa's *Orazioni* (Lione [1727?]); the controversy is summarized in D. Clement's *Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique* (Göttingen, etc., 1750–60), III, 208, in which is mentioned a very curious work attributed to Della Casa entitled *Satyrae Sotadicae pars ultima exhibens G. de Casae Archiepiscopi Beneuentani Paediconis inclyti Cinaedica ad Rhythmum Sotadeum composita in laudem παιδεραστίας*, which looks much like the dubious book said to have been reprinted by Beverland. That the story of the incident is not mere rumour is apparently confirmed by an entry (September 12, 1679, p. 851) in the *Resolutien van de Heeren Staten van Hollandt*, with which may be compared C. Sepp in his *Het Staatstoezicht op de godsdienstige letterkunde in de N. Nederlanden* (Leiden, 1891), p. 94.

Bibliographical notices of Beverland's works have appeared in a number of different books of very uneven value. The following may be consulted with advantage:

S. van Hulst. *Bibliotheca Hulsiana* (Hagae-Comitum, 1730), nrs. 2190, etc.

J. F. Reimmann. *Catalogus Bibliothecae theol. systematico-criticus* (Hildesiae, 1731–39), I, p. 1055.

J. G. Schelhorn. *Amoenitates hist. eccl. et lit.* (Francofurti & Lipsiae, 1725–31), VII, pp. 168–71.

J. A. Fabricius. *Opusculorum hist.-crit.-lit. sylloge* (Hamburgi, 1738), p. 84.

J. Vogt. *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum* (Hamburgi, 1738), pp. 83–86. A very useful survey.

M. Lilienthal. *Theologische Bibliothec* (Königsberg in Preussen, 1741–40), sect. xi, pp. 1133 ff. Drawn largely from Reimmann.

Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek (Halle, 1748–58), St. i, pp. 85–88. By J. S. Baumgarten. Prints the Berkel-Kuhn correspondence.

D. Clement. *Op. cit.*, III, p. 271.

F. G. Freytag. *Analecta litteraria de libris rarioribus* (Lipsiae, 1750), pp. 93–95. Prints the satirical verse on Beverland's captivity attributing it to a Belgian poet.
M. L. Widekind. *Ausführliches Verzeichnis von raren Büchern* (Berlin, 1753–55), pp. 427–30.
B. G. Struve and F. J. Jugler. *Bibliotheca hist. litt. selecta* (Jenae, 1754–63), III, cap. ix, pp. 1873 ff.
G. F. de Bure. *Bibliographie instructive.* Vol. de théol. (Paris, 1763), pp. 489–92. Mainly repetitive of former work.
C. Saxe. *Onomasticon literarium* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1775–1803), pars. v, pp. 256–57.
E. G. Peignot. *Dictionnaire critique, litt. et bibliog. des principaux livres condamnés au feu ou censurés* (Paris, 1806), I, pp. 33–35. Drawn mostly from Bure and should be used with much caution.

The first work by Beverland in which he deals with a legal matter and which seems to have been printed in Utrecht in 1677 is the *Pleydoy gedaen by N. N. Advocaet. In saake van N. N. gedaegden in cas van falsityet, ter eenre. Op ende jegens N. N. Bailjau, inne Officy Eysscher, ter andere zijde.*

This work is usually attributed to the year 1677, since it bears that date on the title. From internal evidence, however, I am inclined to the view that it was actually issued much later but that the incident to which it refers may have taken place in 1677. There is included in it a "*Lettre à l'Autheur*" signed "*vos très-humbles & affectionés serviteurs & amis N.N.*", and in it are clear references to Beverland's ideas of persecution which were certainly not very noticeable in 1677. For example, the letter says that the book is published "to shut the mouth of those who envy you and who are jealous of your glory, of your merit and of the estime in which honourable people hold you, and for your profound erudition". It goes on to speak of "*langues médifantes*" and pretends to ask pardon for having taken the liberty to publish "a piece so worthy of being read". It may well be that this edition was issued by some friends of Beverland in Holland (as is possible also in another instance) in order to assist in his defence during the days in which he thought he was being persecuted.

The first edition of the *Peccatum Originale* is dated 1678. Another followed in 1679 with Beverland's name on the title, and a third under the title of *Poma Amoris* has been thought to exist, although I am not aware of any library which has a copy, and Clement (p. 278) thinks that it was never published. Cf. also Adelung, 38; Struve-Jugler, 1875; Beyer, 226; Vogt, 83, etc. It is said that a copy of this book was once in the library of Count Heinrich von Bünau, but if it were it has apparently disappeared.

In 1714 appeared what purported to be a translation of the *Peccatum Originale* by J. F. Bernard, although this was really a free adaptation. It was entitled *Histoire de l'état de l'homme dans le péché originel* (Le Monde [probably Amsterdam]). This was reprinted several times and a new edition with notes was issued in a limited edition in Paris in 1868.

It does not seem that Beverland's book on original sin was ever translated

into English. I know of only one passage which suggests that it was, and it is more probable that this refers to the French translation. In Robert Wedderburn's *A critical, historical, and admonitory letter to . . . the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, London [*c.* 1820], occurs a passage on p. 10 in which the author speaks of Adrian Beverland's book and says that it was "in Latin originally, but translated for the benefit of ignorant Parsons".

In 1746 appeared a German translation, *Philosophische Untersuchung von dem Zustande der Menschen in der Erbsünde*, which was published in Frankfurt and Leipzig and said to be translated by a writer concealing his identity under the initial "M". Some authorities believe the translator to have been Ephraim Gottfried Müller, but the more generally accepted opinion is that it was Professor Philipp Ernst Bertram of Halle, who was soon followed in an examination of the whole question by Wilhelm E. Starken in his *Historische, critische und theologische Betrachtungen von Baume des Erkenntnisses Gutes und Böses*, which was published in three parts in Leipzig in 1747. There followed in 1761 another curious work which I have not seen but which is said to be a variant of Bertram's translation and which was issued in Jena. It is entitled *Das philosophische Auge, mit welchem der Baum der Erkäntniss des Guten und Bösen von einem Weltbürger onlängst betrachtet worden*, and has been attributed to C. F. Polz.

The unorthodox character of Beverland's treatment of the subject was recognized abroad as well as at Leyden. A critical review appeared in the famous theological journal *Unschuldige Nachrichten* some years later (see 1706, pp. 26, etc.); and it was soon recognized that he had been preceded by H. C. Agrippa in his *De originali peccato disputabilis opinionis declamatio* (Coloniae, 1532), and by Robert Fludd in his *Tractatus theologo-philosophicus* (Oppenheimii [1617]).

Beverland's book on virginity, which appeared in 1680, was translated into English by Francis D. Byrne under the title of *The Law concerning draped virginity*, and appeared in Paris in 1905. A presentation copy of the 1680 edition, given by Beverland to Carbery, which he gave to the latter when he left his service in 1685, is in the University Library in Cambridge, and is signed "Hadrianus Beverlandus Medioburgo-Zelandus".

The famous MS. *Libri tres de prostibulis veterum* is now in the Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit in Leyden. It was Nr. 9 in the old 1716 catalogue, p. 334, and for further details see the catalogue of the Codices, etc., III (1912), p. 189. It has never been printed, but would be interesting to compare with later attempts to provide similar material such as the *Erotopaegnion, sive priapeia veterum et recentiorum* (Lutetiae-Parisiorum, 1798), Petit-Radel's *Les Amours de Zoroas et de Pancharis* (Aubry, 1861), or the *Erotopsiea* (Paris, 1902).

Accounts of Beverland's troubles at Leyden and his subsequent banishment will be found scattered up and down in the biographical material above listed. An early account is to be found in the *Hollantse Mercurius* (Haerlem, 1680, 30.Dl.), and more official details in the *Acta der particuliere Synoden van*

Zuid-Holland, 1621–1700, uitgegeven door w. P. C. Knuttel (R.G.P., kl. ser., 15, 's-Gravenhage, 1915).

The correspondence between Graevius and Heinsius will be found in Volume IV of the *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi quinque* in the Burmann edition (Leidae, 1727), pp. 597 ff., 623.

Aemilius van Cuylenburgh was a student at Utrecht in 1667 and later became a minister in Batenburg. In 1692 he was with the Dutch community in London and for further information see J. H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* (Cantabrigiae, 1887–97), III, 3985, p. 2694, and cf. W. J. C. Moens, *The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers . . . of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars* (Lymington, 1884), p. 208.

Information about Isaac Vossius is scattered in the printed and manuscript material of the period, but special attention may be drawn to J. P. Nicéron's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres* (Paris, 1727–45), XIII (1730), pp. 127 ff.; P. des Maizeaux, *La vie de Messire C. de Saint Denis, Sieur de Saint Evremond*, 4e éd. (Amst., 1726), 214; and for the statements about the 1684 edition of Catullus edited by Vossius see amongst others P. Dahlmann's *Schauplatz der masquirten und demasquirten Gelehrten* (Leipzig, 1710), p. 385. For the discussion over the sale of the library of Isaac Vossius recourse should be made to the *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit* (Rijks Ges. Pub. 45, pp. 106, 107, 191, issued in s'Gravenhage in 1920, and 48, pp. 109*, 110*, 116*, issued in 1921). See also W. D. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1890), 2nd ed., p. 179.

For Sir Bernard de Gomme see the biographical sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He had one daughter, Katherine, who was born about 1658, but the parentage is obscure. His will (P.C.C. 134 Cann) can be seen in Somerset House and in it he leaves £2000 to his "sonne-in-law Mr. Adrian Beverland sonne of my first wife Katherine Van Deniza by her former husband". For an account of the relationship of the Gommes, Riches and Boeveys see A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *The "Perverse Widow"* (London, 1898).

Details of the three MSS. of the *Otia Oxoniensia* have been given in the text. Further details will be found in Vogt, *op. cit.*, and Adelung, *op. cit.*, 34, 45. Cf. also J. C. Wolf, *Curae phil. et crit.* Ed. sec. (Hamburgi, 1732, etc.), and also the Basel ed. of 1741, where see Vol. III, p. 483, and Vol. IV, p. 556.

Passages in the *Journaal* of C. Huygens relating to Beverland will be found in the edition issued by the Hist. Gezelschap., Utrecht, in the edition of the *Werken*. See N.S., XXIII, Dl. i (1876), pp. 83, 84, 217, 230, and N.S. XXV, Dl. ii, pp. 154, 173, 176, 177.

The letter from Dr. Edward Browne to Jean Le Clerc will be found in several places, including Chauffepié, *op. cit.* in the article on Beverland, with which may be compared the version among the Harleian MSS. (3778) in the British Museum.

Beverland's book *De Fornicatione cavenda admonitio* was first issued in London in 1697. Another edition of the same year is known with the imprint

of Augustae, 1697, but which may have been published by Christopher Bateman, the printer who knew Beverland well, and whose imprint "Londini: Prostant apud Christoph. Bateman" appears on another 1697 edition. In 1698 appeared another new edition "et ab autore correcta" and issued "juxta exemplar Londinense". Another London 1698 edition contained the article by J. Brant entitled *Querela super peccato ononitico enormissimo*, which was presumably added by Beverland to his work in order to lend more weight to it. Brant (or Brandius) was a Posen Jesuit who died in 1601.

It seems probable that Beverland began to write the extraordinary series of tracts associated with the names of Perin del Vago and the Chevalier Montenack about the year 1700. They all contain much the same material, although the copies in MS. are more interesting than those which were printed. One of the earliest is that still in MS. in the Bodleian (Rawl. 522), entitled *Seignior Perin del Vagoo's Letter to Mr. Hadrian Beverland, Doctor in ye Civil Law.* 1700. Here he speaks of his collections being plundered, and complains of his housekeeper, whom he took in to wash and cook and not to "git Bastards". It appears that he had at that time about £50 a year, and declares that he was actually accused of thefts from the Ashmolean Museum. After a highly improper account of one of his favourite diversions he excuses himself by declaring that "a good scholar does everything brisk and nimbly". Montenack is mentioned as if he were a real person and it is possible that he was, as in a British Museum MS. (Harl. 3777) Beverland states that he "has done wicked villany to me".

Another early version is the MS. entitled *Existimationis suae vindiciae*, dated 1701 and bound up with a 1702 version printed in London of *Seignior Perin del Vago's Letter to Mr. Hadrian Beverland* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Another version of this MS. with the title *Existimationis suae vindiciae contra Titanem, Tiphonem ac Tophanem* is in the British Museum (Sloane 3963). In the British Museum Add. MS. 4221, 117, mention is made of another similar tract which was possibly issued in 1703. It was entitled *Discovery of a most horrid and most cruel plot . . . continually against Hadr. Beverland, Doctor in the Civil Law. By Seign. Perin del Vago.* Pp. 8. 8°.

Many of the later versions are undated and it is only occasionally that internal evidence suggests the year of printing. We have, for example:

Vago, Perin del. *A discovery of the three impostors, turd-sellers, slanderers and piss-sellers.* This must have been printed some time after August 1707, as that date appears on p. 3. Among others Saxo Sylvius stated that the three impostors were three English Bishops, but there is no truth in the supposition. See his statement in *De Navorscher* (1864), XIV, pp. 268–69.

—— *Perini del Vago epistolium ad Batavum in Britannia hospitem.* (*A letter from Seignior Perin del Vago to Mr. H. B. Dr. H. B.'s answer.*) Undated and with no place of imprint but possibly about 1708.

—— *Perini del Vago, Equitis de Maltha, epistolium ad Batavum, in Britannia hospitem de tribus Impostoribus, ρυπογραφοῖς, συκοφάνταις φαρμακεύταις.* Undated, but probably printed in London about 1708. Another edition differs

from this. It lacks "A Letter from Seignior Perin del Vago to Mr. H. B." (pp. 9–11) and "Dr. H. B.'s Answer" (pp. 13–15). Moreover, it bears the mysterious imprint of "Hieruslymae, 1673" and on the title reads τοπογραφοῖς (printers) instead of ρυπογραφοῖς, which is also the reading elsewhere. This edition is very rare. James Crossley states that he never saw a copy in fifty years of searching for Beverland material until he bought the copy which formerly belonged to A. A. Renouard and which was sold when the latter's collection was dispersed. It was, however, known to E. Weller (see his *Die falschen und fingirten Drucksorte* (Leipzig, 1864), I, p. 275), who suggests that it was printed in the Netherlands. The existence of this edition is very puzzling, as at the time the book was written Beverland was very hard up and unlikely to be able to pay for the production of such a volume. It is possible that the first draft of his book was sent to a Dutch friend of his who printed it at his own expense and added the false imprint in order to save Beverland annoyance from the "printers, informers and poisoners" whom he attacked. If this be so the date must be about 1706 or even earlier.

—— *Seignior Perin del Vagoo's letter to Mr. H. B. J. U. Q. L. (Doctor H. B.'s answer.)* Not earlier than 1710, since that date is mentioned on p. 11.

—— *Le Chevalier Montenack's letter to Mr. H. B. J. U. Q. L.* Not earlier than 1710, as that date appears on p. 5. One of the fullest versions.

—— *Look about: destroyers and poisoners are with you, and cutthroats behind you.* Not earlier than 1710, which is mentioned on p. 8. A copy is in the Bodleian Library.

About 1702 is thought to have been issued in printed form Beverland's remarkable tract *A Hue and Cry after the Bulls of Bashan. P.D.V.'s epistola ad H. B.* The reply from H. B. is dated xvii Martii, 1702. Another version in MS. entitled *A Hue and Cry after the Bulls of Bashan and Dragons of Peor Caterpillars of Gog and Gnats of Magog* (Sloane 1985; 66 in the British Museum) contains additional material and should be consulted.

The titles of the two editions of the book containing testimonials to Beverland are:

Although my Innocency is shelter'd with a Bulwark of Vertues, nevertheless I find the same undermin'd in its own Garrison; therefore I must call to the Allies to assist against so many Legions: and if that don't do, I shall implore our Sovereign to grant me Hercules that he may perform the thirteenth Blow (London, 1709).

Although my Innocency is shelter'd with a Bulwark of Virtues: Nevertheless I find the same undermin'd in his own Garrison: Therefore I must call to the Allies to assist against the Crew of Captain Bentivoglio, the Centaurn.

This varies considerably from the preceding and is probably later in date.

Two editions are known of Beverland's list of paintings to be sold, both of which are possibly to be attributed to a printer in London and issued about 1711. With them may be compared the list of some of his collections in a MS. in the British Museum (Sloane 1985), one of which is dated 1705. It seems likely that Beverland sold all that he could privately and then offered the remainder in one block.

For Sir Godfrey Kneller's portrait of Beverland in the Bodleian Library

see J. Pointer's *Oxoniensis Academia* (Londoni, 1749), 196; *A Catalogue of the several pictures, statues, and busto's in the Picture Gallery, Bodleian Library, and Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford.* New ed. (Oxford, 1762), 8; R. Poole, *Catalogue of portraits in . . . Oxford* (Oxford, 1912), II, nr. 199, p. 79.

For other engravings of Beverland see, *inter alia*, F. Roth-Scholtz, *Icones virorum omnium ordinum eruditione omnique item genere* (Norimbergae & Altdorfii, 1725–28), Pl. H.8; Rue, *op. cit.*, 11; Adelung, *op. cit.*, 36; H. Bromley, *A Catalogue of engraved portraits* (London, 1793), 232; Granger, *op. cit.*, 97; W. V. Daniell, *A Catalogue of engraved portraits* (London, 1900), nr. 792; and the British Museum *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* II (1873), nrs. 1259–1261, pp. 24–26. For details of the various states see J. C. Smith's *British Mezzotinto Portraits* (London, 1883), II, 22, etc.

As has been stated in the text, the collected edition of a few of Beverland's letters was issued in Amsterdam in 1747. This edition is not easy to find, and a more common source in which some of the more important letters are included is the *Sylloge nova epistolarum varii argumenti* (Norimbergae, 1760, etc.), I, pp. 417 ff.

Among other works which have been attributed to Beverland is one which was mentioned by Granger (*op. cit.*, V, 294) and followed by Adelung (*op. cit.*, I, 39–40), and later by a writer in the British Museum *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, II, 24. This book is *Problema paradoxum de Spiritu Sancto* by C. Sandius, which was issued in 1678. The mistake clearly arose from the entry (56) in the *Bibliotheca Meadiana* (Londini, 1755).

So far as I am aware the life of Hadrian Beverland has never been written in detail. But the student may like to know that one was announced, although it was apparently never issued and I do not know if the MS. exists. In the British Museum MS. (Sloane 3963, fo. 119) is an entry in which a life of Beverland is mentioned as "to be sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster" in 1701. Whether this book was by Beverland or another we do not know. I cannot trace any mention of it elsewhere, but from the form of the title I suspect that it was by Beverland himself. If the MS. or even the book ever turns up we may know something more about this odd and intriguing personality.

V. Eusapia Palladino

QUEEN OF THE CABINET

IF the history of spiritualism be carefully examined there will be found revealed many queer characters who, during their lifetime, were prominent and often revered figures, but who after their death were quickly forgotten, only to make way for others who, in their turn, shone brightly for a few years and then disappeared, often without leaving sufficient traces for their story to be pieced together. A few of the great mediums, however, have left their mark in history; and the problems they present are just as baffling now as they were for their contemporaries. D. D. Home still remains a puzzle which no longer seems capable of solution,[1] and the case of Eusapia Palladino, although perhaps less spectacular, furnishes a fascinating study in human psychology, presenting as it does a whole series of possible solutions or combination of solutions of which each seems more unpalatable and improbable the more it is examined.

According to some sources and to Eusapia's own account, she was born on January 21, 1854, in the village of Minerverno Murge in the province of Bari in Italy. Perched on the side of the hill, the village was mainly inhabited by poor peasants who eked out a miserable existence from the barren soil. Eusapia's mother died shortly after her birth, and her father arranged that she should be brought up in a neighbour's house. When she was twelve years old her father, it seems, was killed by brigands, and Eusapia was left practically to fend for herself. Neighbours had heard that a native of the village was now living in Naples, and so it was arranged that little Sapia should be sent there and inquiries were made regarding her future. When she arrived in the city she heard that it had been decided that she was to live with some foreigners who wanted to adopt and educate a small girl. The plan was excellent, but the good people had counted without Eusapia. The attempts to make her read and write, comb her hair, take a daily bath and behave like a little lady were disastrous. The child stoutly resisted the innovations; and midst scoldings and scenes the arrangement was speedily terminated. Eusapia was sent off, and not knowing where to go she took temporary refuge with a family known to her and asked for shelter until other arrangements could be made.

During her stay with the family some visitors related strange tales about what they called table-turnings and rappings, and one day a trial was proposed. The family, including the thirteen-year-old Eusapia, formed a circle, and ten minutes had hardly elapsed before movements of the table occurred, chairs began to glide about and other objects in the room were seen to move from

[1] See my *Some Human Oddities*, pp. 91-128.

their places without apparently being touched. The family was enchanted. They decided that little Sapia was a medium and that her stay could be prolonged so long as she continued to entertain her hosts and their numerous guests who were invited to witness the strange phenomena that took place when she was present.

Eusapia, however, was not a person even at the tender age of thirteen to have her life dominated by others. Wishing to become more independent, she took up laundry work, but she little knew that two of the visitors to the séances were soon to influence her life for good and set her on the road to fame and fortune.

At that time there were living in Naples a Mr. and Mrs. G. Damiani, who were immensely interested in the so-called spiritual manifestations. Since 1865, when he was converted, Mr. Damiani had been a keen attendant at séances. He had married an English lady and had lived in Clifton, where he had seen the famous medium Mrs. Marshall and had been completely puzzled by her remarkable performances. Before seeing this gifted woman he had professed positivist views, regarding man as nothing "but a very acute monkey" and life a "somewhat unsatisfactory farce". Mrs. Marshall, however, was instrumental in radically changing Mr. Damiani's views on the simian ancestry of mankind.

Once converted he seems to have found mediums wherever he went. There were a number waiting almost on his back door in Clifton. For example, he knew a remarkable child between ten and eleven who wrote long essays on spiritual subjects which would have filled a dozen volumes; and this infant prodigy also wrote in dead languages and in a different handwriting for each spirit that came through him. He heard the walls of a house in Clifton resound to blows as if by sledge-hammers; he saw a lady levitated in her chair to at least a foot above the ground; he held and touched the spirit hands, which were usually "beautiful in form, with tapering fingers", but which would melt away and dissolve if retained, after giving him a feeling resembling a slight electric shock. He attended séances where the spirits spoke direct; flowers, fresh and dew-besprinkled, descended upon him from space; perfumes were let loose and the scent of violets filled the room. Even with those notorious frauds the Davenport Brothers, Mr. Damiani was favoured. He saw an arm of enormous proportions emerge from their cabinet; and when holding one hand through a hole in the door he saw five or six other hands protruding from another aperture just above his wrist.

One of his lady friends at Clifton was afflicted by a strange malformation, so that her teeth came out almost horizontally, thus preventing her from closing her lips. In a single night the spirits set them straight and at the same time rendered them "more beautiful in substance". Mr. Damiani was certainly a very lucky man.

On leaving Clifton the Damianis went to Naples, although they were far from sure that they would find there the two things they most wanted, namely a comfortable apartment fitted up with the amenities to which they

had become accustomed in England and, last but not least, a good medium. By that time Mr. Damiani had become a famous spiritualist and follower of the Allan Kardec school of thought. Before leaving London he attended a circle at which the spirit of one John King was supposed to manifest. This personality claimed to have been the famous Welsh buccaneer Sir Henry Morgan, who died in 1688 and who, when in Jamaica, incurred the wrath of the Earl of Carbery, once protector of Hadrian Beverland. From the year 1850 onwards John King turned up as a spirit Control in numerous circles, his activities ranging from the Davenport Brothers and the Koon log-house to many English mediums such as Mrs. Marshall and Mrs. Firman, whilst he is said to have manifested as recently as 1930 in the famous Glen Hamilton circle at Winnipeg.

John King's association with Eusapia began in a very curious way. One day Mrs. Damiani was attending a séance and John King communicated, saying that a powerful medium, by name Eusapia, had arrived in Naples and that he had a mind to manifest himself through her and to produce some marvellous phenomena. Mrs. Damiani allowed no time to slip by. She hastened off, found Eusapia, and hardly had the sitting begun when John King arrived and from that day remained Eusapia's chief and most famous Control.

One of the earliest accounts we have of Eusapia is in a letter, dated March 31, 1872, and written by Mr. Damiani himself. He says that in Naples there was a medium of "most extraordinary and varied powers", a poor girl of about sixteen named Sapia Padalino (*sic*), who was without either parents or friends. She seemed to combine nearly every kind of mediumship. Sounds like pistol-shots were heard, lights were seen and tables rose into the air without visible means of support. But there were other odd features of her mediumship which were somewhat disturbing. Objects kept disappearing from the room where she sat and her visitors were beginning to get annoyed at their losses. Men had to go home without their hats and wallets: women minus their cloaks and watches. All this was done, so it was said, by the spirit of John King, but Damiani thought that, if so, he needed "a deal of educational development". He went on to say that the circle was trying to wean him of his disagreeable propensities, "which are quite superfluous as a means of inducing to belief, and may cause suspicion of the honesty of the poor, simple medium".

Little Sapia's mediumship was catching in those days. Two of the sitters, an author and a lawyer, both became mediums, but their phenomena seemed largely automatisms, which was as might have been expected. In spite of the kindness and help that Mr. Damiani was giving to the spirit of John King, things seemed to get worse instead of better; and in the winter of 1872 he decided that Sapia was obsessed by a band of low spirits headed by one Alessi, which had placed her in "her present distressing condition".

What had happened seemed to be somewhat as follows. The sitters had asked the spirits to bring something into the room from outside and through closed doors and windows. An object immediately fell on the table; and when a light was obtained a neat parcel was disclosed. On opening the packet they

found a dead rat within, which disgusted the company, who, it is said, hoped for "more genial objects". Hats and cloaks were still disappearing and a lady's watch and chain vanished, only to be found at her home lying on her bed when she returned to her apartment, from which it again suddenly disappeared for good before her very eyes. Sapia's mediumship was now working at a distance.

The Naples spiritualists thought by this time that things had gone far enough; and so it was decided to get Sapia employment in "a nice place as a servant". She took the place, but her new master, who was present when she was dusting the drawing-room, was amazed to see a table begin to glide about by itself and some china fall off a chiffonier with a resounding crash. Sapia's work as a servant abruptly ceased. She again became dependent upon her friends and sympathizers, who thereupon decided to cultivate her mind, which they proceeded to do "with unremitting patience but without avail".

Spiritualists in England hardly knew what advice to give to their troubled friends in Italy. One suggested that Sapia "should be constantly in the company of persons with powerful and elevating mediumistic magnetism" and that "her mind should be kept constantly occupied with pleasing yet improving avocations". This advice may have been good but it was hardly likely to appeal to the clever Eusapia. She must have contracted a keen contempt for the people whom she met, and it does not seem that her view of human nature was much modified by her later experiences.

The years went by and Eusapia continued to sit for the many spiritualist circles in Naples. She had become a professional medium; and with the decline of Damiani's influence others were scrambling to take his place as her protector and manager. The most successful of these was a keen student of occultism, Ercole Chiaja, who in 1886 became her principal admirer, and who was so struck by the phenomena occurring in her presence that he determined to bring them to the notice of scientific men. Had Chiaja not made this fateful decision Eusapia might never have attracted the attention of the learned world, and we should have been deprived of the pleasure of attempting to solve a puzzle which defied those living at the time and still remains a riddle which is now hardly likely to be fully solved.

On August 9, 1888, Chiaja printed an open letter to the famous alienist and criminologist Cesare Lombroso, "the Master of Turin" as he was called. It appeared in a Rome paper, the *Fanfulla della Domenica*, and was so phrased that Lombroso might not at first think that the subject had anything to do with spiritualism. "I want to say something about a patient," Chiaja writes, "a sick woman belonging to the lower ranks of society and who is now about thirty years old." Chiaja went on to say that when tied to her chair or held by the hands of those present, she drew pieces of furniture towards her, made them float in the air and apparently increased or decreased their weight. She caused raps and blows to resound in the room, produced lights like electric sparks, caused marks to appear on paper and cards by merely extending her

hand towards them, and if some object was placed at a distance and covered with a layer of soft clay she would cause the imprints of small or large hands to appear on the clay and sometimes even the imprints of faces. Moreover, she sometimes rose in the air and remained floating as if defying gravity, and at other times she made musical instruments play without contact just as if they were being manipulated by invisible gnomes.

There were even odder things about her, Chiaja went on. She was able to increase her height by more than 10 cm.; she took strange forms so that it was sometimes difficult to say how many arms or legs she really had. When she was held, other limbs put in an appearance: a third arm was seen, and this strange appendage played all kinds of tricks with the spectators. Then there was a great rough hand with big nails which was sometimes warm and sometimes cold like that of a corpse. It could be seized, pressed and carefully examined when the light was sufficient, and before disappearing it used to remain suspended in mid air just like one of those wooden hands on which gloves are sometimes fitted in the shops.

Chiaja then went on to maintain that these amazing phenomena could hardly be due to fraud or to illusion. What was wanted was a series of experiments in which doubts could be cleared up and any charlatanry effectually dealt with. For this purpose Chiaja begged Lombroso to meet him with two assistants while he provided two others for the purpose of making up a circle. If the séances were successful, Chiaja concluded, Lombroso's own sense of loyalty and truth would compel him to attest the reality of these mysterious occurrences.

So far as we know Lombroso did not accept this cordial invitation. The following year, therefore, Chiaja threw in his hand. At the Spiritualist Congress in Paris he read a paper in which he described the phenomena he had witnessed in the presence of Eusapia Palladino.[1] He told his audience of some of the most curious manifestations that were observed, such as the emergence of a mysterious third arm from under the medium's dress, a phenomenon which was often said to be produced in full light. Then Eusapia was herself levitated some 10 to 15 cm. above the table and remained floating whilst the observers passed their hands beneath her. On one occasion, in full gaslight, the medium remained in the air in a horizontal position with her head alone resting on the table, a phenomenon rather similar to that on a previous occasion when it had also been noticed that Eusapia's dress did not hang down but remained as if glued to her body, just as was the case with St. Joseph of Copertino.[2]

However, it was an experiment with a vessel on which clay had been placed that was one of the things which most impressed the Spanish observer Otero Acevedo. Eusapia told him to fetch the dish of clay, put it on a chair facing her and then say where he wished the phenomenon to be produced.

[1] *C. R. du Cong. Spirite et Spiritualiste internat.* (Paris, 1890), 326 ff.
[2] See my *Some Human Oddities*, p. 27.

Acting on her instructions, he did so, examined the clay, covered it with his handkerchief and put it about six and a half feet off. Thrusting her hand forward, Eusapia then pointed three fingers at the dish and said that it had been done. The handkerchief was removed and there was the imprint of three fingers in the clay. The effect had been produced in the light and the clay was not under Eusapia's control. The observers were stupefied. The medium's phenomena were at last attracting the attention of learned men.

Two years later Lombroso himself came to Naples, and it was arranged that two séances should be held in the hotel where the Master was staying. At the first sitting the usual phenomena occurred under conditions in which the medium was manually controlled by the observers, but in the second she was tied to her chair by strips of linen. During the course of this séance nothing spectacular occurred before the close. Eusapia was sitting about one and a half feet (50 cm.) from a couple of curtains which shut off an alcove, and inside this alcove was a light table some three feet (1 metre) from the medium. Lights had been turned up and the observers, before releasing Eusapia, were discussing what they had seen, when a noise was heard in the alcove, the curtains began to wave about, and the little table emerged and began to move slowly towards the medium. Two of the observers immediately entered the alcove to catch hold of the confederate who, they thought, must be responsible for so startling a phenomenon. Nobody was found, but the table still continued to glide slowly towards Eusapia, who was still sitting tied to her chair.

Professor Lombroso was, as he himself confessed, in a state of mental confusion. He could not explain what he had seen and he regretted that, before examination, he had so persistently resisted the idea that such things were possible. The Master of Turin was convinced. The Queen of the Cabinet had arrived!

On reading the records of these séances the modern student will probably dismiss them as hardly worth the paper on which they are written. Certainly the discrepancies, omissions and additions are startling and almost inexplicable. We must remember, however, that any adequate scientific investigation of these odd occurrences was almost unknown. Sources of error were unrecognized: the psychology of misdirection was practically unheard of: and the conditions under which the sittings were held were poor and open to grave objections. But even if we assume all this to be true it must be observed that the movement of the table in the alcove in full light was certainly striking, and if fraudulent must have been due to an attachment which Eusapia had connected to it either before the lights were raised or when the observers were talking together when the séance was supposed to have finished. It can hardly be maintained, I think, that she was openly pulling it with a free arm or leg, although we must admit the possibility, however remote, that the observers may have been suffering from some kind of hallucination, a theory which I do not think to be at all probable.

The apparent conversion of Lombroso caused a stir of surprise and in-

credulity in the learned world. He had long been known as a determined sceptic; and his experiences were such that others desired to share them and to expose the deception if such there were. Accordingly, a number of scientific men agreed to meet Eusapia in Milan in October 1892. Among them were the director of the Milan observatory, Professor G. Schiaparelli; Professor G. Gerosa, a physicist; Dr. G. B. Ermacora; Professor Charles Richet, the French physiologist; and Cesare Lombroso himself. The full committee was not present at all the sittings, and Professor Richet contributed an independent note upon those experiments at which he was personally present.

The findings of the committee are of very considerable interest, not only on account of the confusion which the results of the series left in their minds, but also because they emphasized a number of facts which are of immense importance if we wish to obtain a balanced view not only of the so-called physical phenomena of mediumship in general but of the problem of Eusapia's mediumship in particular. Thus they seemed fully aware that these "experiments" were in no sense what scientific men usually understand by that term. The general arrangements were dictated by the medium. She it was who said what was possible and what impossible. When the committee wished to make changes in order to put the reality of the results beyond dispute, these were either not accepted as possible by the medium or, if they were carried out, they resulted for the most part either in making the experiment negative or at least leading to conclusions which were dubious. For example, when it was suggested that instead of sitting at the narrow end of the table Eusapia should be placed at the wider side, this was resisted, as was also the proposal that she should stand instead of sit during the levitations of the table. When asked the reason why the standing position should not be adopted, Eusapia declared that, during the phenomena, her legs and knees trembled so violently that she could not remain upright. A. Aksakov, one of the sitters, rather naïvely remarked that he was unable to verify this when laying his hands across her knees while phenomena were actually in progress. Moreover, the committee were fully aware of the extreme difficulty of keeping a secure hold on the medium's hands when the sittings took place in darkness.

Before the occurrence of a phenomenon Eusapia used to become restless: she would move her hands about so that it became almost impossible to follow them or to make sure which hand was being held by whom, or if one hand had not escaped control altogether and two of the sitters were not controlling the same hand. Thus the suspicion that the medium was able to free one hand and possibly produce "phenomena" by its aid was always present in the mind of the committee, although, with the exception of Professor Richet, who stated clearly that the secure control of the feet was illusory, they seemed not to have been fully alive to the possibility that Eusapia was able to free one of her feet as well as one of her hands. Certainly at times it seemed incredible that the "spirit" hands were those of Eusapia when the sittings were held in the light. For instance, on a few occasions the room was divided into two sections

by a couple of curtains. Eusapia was placed on her chair between the curtains so that her back was in the further section of the room whilst the observers sat in the front part. On the table was placed a lamp fitted with red glass by the light of which the front of Eusapia remained visible throughout. On numerous occasions the observers, when standing up and putting their hands through the chink of the curtains, were able to feel clearly defined hands, and now and then one of these protruded through the chink showing itself clearly and moving its fingers, while on one occasion it seized a pencil which was extended to it.

Now, since the sittings were held in the private dwelling of Mr. George Finzi, who was accepted by the committee as a trustworthy person, it appears that the only possible normal explanations of these mysterious hands was that a confederate had secretly gained access to the back portion of the room, overcoming the difficulty of the locked and sealed door, and then, standing behind Eusapia, had poked his or her hand through the curtain. Such might be a plausible theory were it not for the fact that on other occasions similar phenomena were said to have been observed when there was nothing behind the medium but a cabinet backed by solid walls.

The general result of the Milan experiments was to indicate that further tests were urgently needed and an attempt made to disentangle what were probably fraudulent manifestations due to a free hand or foot from those which had hitherto defied any normal explanation at all. The odd features of Eusapia's mediumship were exasperating. Were she to continue to refuse the conditions which were scientifically adequate it might never be possible to distinguish the real from the unreal. Further efforts must be made before it was too late.

The next series of tests, if they can be called such, again took place in Naples, in January 1893. Professor N. P. Wagner, a zoologist from St. Petersburg and a somewhat credulous and uncritical person, had some sittings and was apparently easily convinced of the supernormal character of what he had witnessed, although one of his colleagues was far from certain that what he had seen could not be wholly ascribed to adroit trickery.

From the reports of the later series in Rome it is impossible to judge of their value, but apart altogether from the conditions obtaining at the time the tests were of importance inasmuch as Dr. Julijan Ochorowicz from Poland was present, a man of considerable ability and, in addition to his psychological studies, keenly interested in the problems of mediumship. Indeed, so intrigued did he become that from November 25, 1893, until January 15, 1894, Eusapia found herself in Warsaw by his invitation and forty sittings were held. The accounts of the series created a sensation which could have been avoided had Ochorowicz conducted the inquiry as a scientific investigation should be conducted and not sought that publicity which so often creates confusion and leads to nothing positive.

During the Warsaw series the usual phenomena were observed. Some efforts appear to have been made to prevent Eusapia from using her feet to

levitate the table, such as placing both her feet in deep boxes so fitted that a bell sounded if either foot was withdrawn, but the accounts are not sufficiently detailed to allow of any satisfactory appraisal of these arrangements.

The attack on the supernormal nature of the phenomena was led by Mr. B. Reichnam, an electrical engineer, who came to the conclusion from what he had himself seen that all the manifestations were fraudulent. He maintained that Eusapia's foot was mainly responsible for the levitations of the table, and he printed a long account of how she managed to do this and how she succeeded also in freeing one hand during the course of the sittings. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that he did not attempt to explain phenomena which could not be produced by the use of the medium's limbs, either because these were visible to the observers or because, had they been free, it would have been impossible for them to create the effects. It is here that we approach the puzzle which, still unsolved, makes the case of Eusapia Palladino so fascinating and at the same time so exasperating. If, for the sake of argument, we threw over *all* the phenomena which might conceivably have been produced by free hands or feet under the known conditions, did a residuum exist which could not be explained normally at all?

At Warsaw opinion was divided, and the reports were not sufficient to justify any conclusions. But the same year (1894) Eusapia was invited by Professor Charles Richet, the famous French physiologist, to stay with him at his country cottage on the Ile du Grand-Ribaud (or Roubaud) in the Hyères group of islands in the south of France (July 20–27), and then at his house at Carqueiranne near Toulon, where he gathered a group of observers together to study Eusapia and to try to obtain less dubious phenomena than those hitherto reported. For the purpose of the experiments Professor Richet invited Sir (then Professor) Oliver Lodge, Professor and Mrs. Henry Sidgwick of Cambridge, together with Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Dr. Julijan Ochorowicz from Warsaw, Freiherr von Schrenck-Notzing from Munich, and others. The first series of tests on the island produced remarkable results. A small islet with only a lighthouse and Professor Richet's cottage seemed an ideal place for peace and quiet, and in the sunny warmth of southern France Eusapia was at ease and in excellent form. Four sittings were held at which Professor Richet himself, Sir Oliver Lodge and Dr. Ochorowicz assisted, while the notes were taken at first by M. Bellier, Professor Richet's secretary, and later by Dr. Ochorowicz.

It would weary the reader to describe in any detail what occurred at these four extraordinary sittings, especially as the particulars have been printed and are fairly easily accessible. Special attention was paid to the efficacy of the control of Eusapia's hands and feet, but it appears that certain of the occurrences were such that they could hardly be explained on the assumption that the medium had surreptitiously freed a hand or foot.

Whilst Sir Oliver Lodge, for example, was holding both Eusapia's hands he was pushed and pinched on the head, back and knees, whilst occasionally

under the same conditions he had his hand seized by another hand so that he was able to feel the impression of a thumb and nails. He also saw the window curtain, which was about five feet from the medium, bulge inwards for no apparent reason and in a complete absence of wind or draughts.

At one sitting, Ochorowicz, who was outside on the verandah taking notes through the window, asked who was unlocking the door as the key was heard rattling in the lock inside the room. Blows were heard on the door, the clear space between the door and the observers being visible. Suddenly the key fell on the table, disappeared, was heard going back to the lock and then was again withdrawn, returning to the hand of Professor Richet, who noticed a curious black object seemingly connected with it as it was brought or moved towards him. As on this occasion the light was sufficient to see the position of everybody's hands, and as the door in question was some four feet from those nearest to it, the movement of the key seemed completely inexplicable. Towards the end of the sitting a loaf, a pile of five plates and other objects arrived on the table around which Lodge, Myers and Richet were standing, and there soon followed a decanter of water which had previously been standing on a top shelf of a buffet placed against the wall.

At Professor Richet's house he was joined by Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick, Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing and others including Dr. C. Ségard, the principal medical officer to the French Mediterranean Fleet. Many of the phenomena were as inexplicable as those that had previously occurred on the island, and Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick found themselves forced into the position of having to admit that even when they themselves were controlling Eusapia's hands they experienced touches and odd grasps which could hardly be produced except by a hand or a passable imitation of one, and this when the mouth and feet of the medium seemed to be properly accounted for. In fact it was agreed that, if the manifestations were fraudulent, then one or other of the sitters must have let go one of Eusapia's hands, but to accuse each other of such carelessness was almost to treat him or her as an idiot. Collusion or confederacy they all believed to be completely excluded.

The results of the French sittings created intense interest, although some secrecy was maintained regarding the final conclusions of those taking part, who exhibited a certain unwillingness to permit the reports to be published. Enough, however, became known to cause a renewal of the controversy, and detailed criticisms of the report and suggested explanations of the phenomena were printed by Dr. Richard Hodgson in the privately circulated *Journal* of the Society for Psychical Research, to the Council of which I am indebted for the permission to reprint certain passages.

Richard Hodgson, LL.D. (1855–1905), then an official of the American branch of the S.P.R., was a keen student of his subject and a man of wide knowledge and critical ability. He was fully aware of the indubitably fraudulent nature of many of the so-called physical phenomena of spiritualism, and was much interested in the trick methods by which the fakers produced their more

startling results. In the case of Eusapia he came to the conclusion that the majority of all her effects could be explained by the hypothesis that a freed arm or leg was responsible, although he seems either to have forgotten or to have been unaware that this theory had been repeatedly discussed by previous investigators and verified on numerous occasions. Moreover, Lodge, Myers and Richet were conversant with the methods and were apparently wide awake to their possibilities under the conditions obtaining at the French sittings. Nevertheless Hodgson insisted on the relevance of his objections, but when he attempted to explain the more puzzling phenomena I cannot say that I am impressed by his suggestions. For example, he asked why Eusapia could not have managed the movements of the key "quite easily with her foot"; and when the observers stated on another occasion that they saw certain marks *being* formed on a piece of paper under the light of an unshaded candle, all that Dr. Hodgson could say was that "this is just what they did not see, and that what they did see was the marks coming into view just after they were formed". Considering the fact that the observers' detailed notes italicized the word *being*, thus clearly recognizing its importance, Dr. Hodgson's flat denial appears to me a confession of weakness, although I am far from affirming that the phenomenon was supernormal.

Again, on one occasion when Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick were present, a large stalkless melon weighing over seven kilograms was transported from the chair placed behind Eusapia to the table round which the observers were sitting, her limbs being apparently securely held on either side. It is true that Dr. Hodgson did not suggest that Eusapia lifted the melon with her mouth or with her foot. Indeed, so far as I know, he did not attempt to explain it at all, since he could hardly have dared to suggest to the Sidgwicks and their colleagues that they let Eusapia lift the melon off the chair with her two hands and put it on the table whilst they themselves were controlling white stuffed gloves laid in front of them.

This failure on the part of Eusapia's severest nineteenth-century critic to offer any suggestions beyond what had previously been well known, although perhaps not sufficiently acted upon, is crucial in any analysis of the Palladino phenomena. It pointed directly to the growing necessity for instrumental registration, photographic records and other devices whereby the human factor could gradually be eliminated, thus getting rid of the necessity of relying upon the testimony of witnesses who might have been deceived, hallucinated or rendered almost imbecile when they entered the séance room.

In Aug.-Sept. 1895 a fresh series of sittings took place. This time they were in England at the house of Mr. F. W. H. Myers in Cambridge, and the occasion was ripe for a first-rate sensation. For on October 11, 1895, Professor Henry Sidgwick was in the chair at the seventy-fifth General Meeting of the Society for Psychical Research, and he announced with all due solemnity that in the present year a number of experiments had been held with Eusapia

Palladino at Cambridge and that he considered it to be proved beyond a doubt that the medium had used systematic trickery throughout this series of sittings. He went on to say that as the Cambridge sittings closely resembled those held in France, where he had been led to give a limited support to the medium's pretensions, so now he was inclined to believe that his earlier experiences could be explained also by trickery, and he had to withdraw his previous support of the medium.

Although it was not very important whether Professor Sidgwick's opinion was favourable or unfavourable to Eusapia, since he had no expert knowledge of trick methods, this surprising announcement was greeted quietly and it was followed by an endorsement of Professor Sidgwick's view by Mr. Myers himself, who had, however, preserved enough common sense to add that what he had seen on Professor Richet's island could not, he thought, be explained by what had been observed at Cambridge.

What actually happened at Cambridge we shall never know. The full and detailed reports have not been published, but remain buried in the archives of the Society for Psychical Research. But from the little that has been disclosed it seems probable that Eusapia was in her poorest form and that she did little else but produce spurious phenomena through a free hand or foot, her methods of doing so being carefully studied by Dr. Richard Hodgson, who seems to have thought that what he was describing was new, since in his speech at the General Meeting he appears to have made no mention of the detailed description of similar tricks previously printed by E. Torelli-Viollier in 1892 and B. Reichnam in 1894, whose opinions we have already quoted.[1]

There was no doubt that the leaders of the Society for Psychical Research, of which Professor and Mrs. Henry Sidgwick were among the principal lights, hoped by this report to put an end to what they clearly thought were Eusapia's mischievous activities. They had never much liked the physical phenomena, neither had the personalities producing them been regarded with favour. Certainly, Eusapia must have been a somewhat trying guest in so distinguished a literary, philosophical and learned milieu as that in which the Sidgwicks and Mr. and Mrs. Myers moved. To speak plainly, Eusapia was

[1] Mrs. Sidgwick, in a later attempt to defend the procedure at Cambridge (see *Proc.* S.P.R., 1908-9, XXI 521 ff.), says that before Hodgson arrived the observers had not "yet traced the drawing of the two hands together and the substitution of part of one for the other", and that it was only *after* the method was indicated that they were able to observe the process "over and over again". Yet the trick was a very old one and ought, it seems, to have been known by investigators who had already been warned that Eusapia freed a hand or a foot when she was able to do so. "I gradually draw up my hands until they are close together," wrote the author of *Confessions of a Medium* (London and New York, 1882, p 93), when describing how one hand can be made to do service for two, and the duty of the controllers is to prevent this occurring instead of observing it happen "over and over again". Mrs. Sidgwick was unable to understand why the Cambridge group was blamed for allowing Eusapia repeatedly to do this. She did not apparently realize that by permitting it they were actually inviting Eusapia to produce fraudulent phenomena and lessening their own chances of observing any that might not depend on such manœuvres. Eusapia thought they were dupes and treated them as such, and I cannot help feeling sometimes that they got what they deserved, although it may have been true that for some unexplained reason Eusapia refused to them what she granted willingly to others.

vital, vulgar, amorous *and* a cheat,[1] and this combination must have jarred upon those whose interests in psychical research was rather to find a sure road to immortality than to inquire too closely into the queer phenomena produced by a woman whose behaviour both in and out of the cabinet revealed a femininity which must often have been a little disturbing to the Cambridge philosophers. For at this period of her career Eusapia was hardly the refined lady of a university town. She was rather fat, with short legs, and seeming at times rather awkward and heavy, although her quickness and suppleness were there when wanted. Moreover, it can hardly be denied that it was inevitable that her hosts and their intimates must have felt an antipathy towards her, however veiled it might have been by an icy politeness and attempts at friendliness. For there is little doubt that they did their utmost to make her feel at her ease.

Mr. Hodgson used to play croquet with her in the garden, and the pair must have been a strange contrast to anyone who knew anything about them. Here was Eusapia, an unlettered peasant, retaining, as one writer has put it, "a most primitive morality", and of such a decidedly erotic nature that it was said that she thought of little else. And there facing her was Richard Hodgson, whose nature was such that his best friends were unable to recall in him a single taint of coarseness, and whose investigations into spiritualism were to bring him the belief that everything from an ink-spot to a star was all part of an Infinite Goodness. To such a circle Eusapia must have seemed like someone who had dropped out of another world, and not a very nice world at that.

Before sittings Eusapia's pulse would sometimes rise to perhaps 120 and during the production of phenomena she often used to exhibit hysterical paroxysms. She yawned and hiccupped vigorously; her face sometimes took on a demoniacal mien, becoming pale and crimson by turns, and then changing into an expression which could only be described as one of voluptuous ecstasy, and which was often accompanied by movements and a brilliance of eye and smile of contentment which must have been singularly disconcerting to diffident sitters. After sittings, these conditions occasionally persisted; and she would sometimes, in a half-dreamy state, throw herself into the arms of men attending the séance and signify her desire for more intimate contacts in ways which could hardly be misinterpreted except by the most innocent. I am not aware if she displayed any of these activities at Cambridge. It would, I think, have needed more than Eusapia's courage to have kissed Mr. Myers or to have attempted to embrace Professor Sidgwick under the eyes of his wife.

According to Mr. Myers and Mrs. Sidgwick, Eusapia seemed quite happy and at ease at Cambridge, although it seems to me that such is so unlikely to have been the case that any assertion to the contrary should be regarded with some suspicion. There was something wholly unreal about the Cambridge sittings. It is difficult to convey the impression to persons without long

[1] She even cheated at games when playing in the garden of Mr. Myers' house!

experience of the séance room, but I have the feeling that Eusapia knew that in that atmosphere she could never let herself go, but had to fall back on all those clever little tricks which she had often found so useful during so many years. After all, they were nothing new; and she still might be able to bring off something to satisfy this serious circle of staid and unexcitable observers. Whether she succeeded or not we do not know.

Although the full reports have never been published, the selections printed in the Society's *Journal* for November 1895 contain some very odd and somewhat disturbing features. For example, on one occasion a musical box was placed behind Eusapia near one of her heels. Her hands were held by Professor Sidgwick and Dr. Hodgson, and Mrs. Sidgwick, who was under the table holding Eusapia's feet, states that she felt a hand which touched hers and then the handle of the musical box. In order to explain this Dr. Hodgson suggested that Eusapia was using her right hand to play the musical box. But he, Richard Hodgson, was supposed to be controlling the right hand; and the report states that just before it played the hands were being well held. There seems no possibility of escaping the conclusion that Dr. Hodgson had knowingly released Eusapia's right hand when he was supposed to be controlling it.

If these incidents occurred throughout the Cambridge series the unwillingness to print the detailed reports is easy to explain, for such methods would hardly have commended themselves to other European investigators. How different, for example, were they from those adopted by Professor Richet at Carqueiranne when, during a séance, he repeatedly asked Mrs. Sidgwick and Dr. Ségard if they were absolutely sure of their control. And when they answered in the affirmative he added in a serious voice, "Take care, for if you are deceiving yourselves it is almost complicity."[1]

Again, in the unpublished record of a sitting (No. 13 of August 30, 1895) I find it stated that on one occasion, with Mr. Francis Darwin and Dr. Hodgson controlling Eusapia's hands, Mrs. Sidgwick was again under the table holding her feet. Whilst both Darwin and Hodgson were quite sure of their control, Mrs. Sidgwick felt her dress pulled from the neck by what felt like fingers catching hold of it. Similarly on August 25 the chair of Mr. J. N. Maskelyne, the famous illusionist, was pulled away from him and then came up from his side and "arrived" on the table upside down when both he and Mrs. Myers were satisfied as to the control of Eusapia's hands and feet. I confess I find it hard to understand these reports unless it be assumed that there was a grave lack of competence in the matter of control or a deliberate slackening of control by the responsible observers whilst clearly deceiving one another regarding its efficacy.

These dubious features in the management of the Cambridge series were severely criticized by certain European observers who had had considerable

[1] Fifteen years later Mrs. Sidgwick had come to the conclusion that Dr. Ségard had let go of Eusapia's right hand. It is not known, I think, if Dr. Ségard thought that she had let go of the left. Anyhow, he was too polite to say so.

experience with Eusapia. Indeed, Professor Richet went so far as to say that by their actions the Cambridge group had almost provoked the fraud itself (*Traité de Métapsychique*, 2e. éd. (Paris, 1923), p. 542); and Dr. J. Maxwell, a Bordeaux medical man and lawyer of some repute, stated bluntly that Richard Hodgson and his friends were responsible for Eusapia's tricks and almost wholly responsible for the failure of the experiments (*Metapsychical Phenomena* (London, 1905), p. 408), an opinion which drew a sharp, although, I think, a rather unconvincing, rejoinder from the Editor of the S.P.R. *Proceedings* (XVIII, p. 501), Miss Alice Johnson.

However that may be, the fact remains that by April 1896 the Society for Psychical Research under its formidable Sidgwick domination decided to turn its back on Eusapia. A high moral tone was adopted: what interested the leaders of the S.P.R. was not a scientific inquiry into all aspects of physical mediumship, but a decision as to whether the phenomena were "genuine" or not. If the conclusions were adverse, then all was finished. The psychology of the fraudulent medium and the possibility of "frauds" in hysterical states interested them not at all.

It was thus that the leaders of the Society closed the door on Eusapia, but they underestimated the powers of this astonishing human oddity. The Queen of the Cabinet was not to be beaten by learning, moral uplift and the strange methods of control sponsored by Dr. Richard Hodgson. She went back to France and held a series of sittings from September 20–29 at the house of Colonel Albert de Rochas at l'Agnélas near Vairon in Isère. The phenomena were of the familiar kind, and although the record is not as complete or detailed as would be desirable to obtain a balanced judgment, it would seem that the observers were satisfied that, where a freed hand or foot was excluded, supernormal phenomena were observed.

From July 25–28, 1897, some more séances took place at Montfort l'Amaury (Seine-et-Oise) in the home of the Blech family. They were very successful, but as the detailed reports are lacking, even if they were ever made, little comment is necessary.

In November 1898 Eusapia was in Paris. A committee had been formed and a number of sittings were held in the home of Camille Flammarion, the French astronomer, who had invited a number of well-known men to assist him, including Professor Charles Richet. The familiar manifestations were observed, and in addition a number of new and very singular phenomena were recorded. For example, it was noticed on one occasion that a number of shadowy female half-forms or busts kept gliding forward on the table between those sitting at it and seemingly being extruded from the medium, whose chair was at one end of the same table.

Unfortunately, Richet has given no detailed account of his experiences at these sittings, but when the series was over in December he asked Eusapia to come to his house in Paris, and at the same time invited F. W. H. Myers to visit him there as a private individual and see if similar phenomena to those occurring previously which had so impressed him could be obtained. The results were sensational. Mr. Myers, at a General Meeting of the S.P.R. on December 9, 1899, stated that he had been present at two séances and that the phenomena occurring were absolutely convincing to all present; and in a letter published in *Light* on February 18, 1899, he declared that what was witnessed was "far more striking" than even that which had been seen on the Ile Roubaud, adding that he was convinced that they were genuine. What actually happened at these sittings remains somewhat of a mystery.

Although Myers thought that an account of them might appear in the *Journal* of the S.P.R. his notes were apparently considered of not sufficient importance and they were never printed, a policy doubtless favoured by Hodgson, who was then Editor. Indeed, in a portion of an unpublished paper on Eusapia preserved in the Society's archives, and almost certainly in the handwriting of Miss Alice Johnson, it is stated (p. 13) that "these sittings were not recorded at the time", whereas in a similarly unpublished and bitterly hostile letter from Hodgson he stated that he had "received Myers' notes" but considered them evidentially worthless, and they have now apparently disappeared altogether. It appears, therefore, that the notes that Mr. Myers made were not dictated by him to any note-taker present at the sittings, but were made after the séances were over from recollections of what had occurred.

For some unexplained reason Professor Richet's notes (if he made any at the time) also remain unpublished, and although he mentioned the series of sittings in his address to the S.P.R. on January 27, 1899, this portion of his paper was left unprinted, being "deferred" till later and thus effectually suppressed. In his book already quoted Richet also passes this series over in silence (see p. 547), although Emile Boirac, Rector of the Dijon Academy, who was also present, gives a short and very unsatisfactory account of what occurred at the second sitting in his *La Psychologie Inconnue* (Paris, 1908), which was apparently reprinted from his original paper in *Le XXe Siècle* of January 1, 1899. Fortunately, however, Professor T. Flournoy of the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Geneva, and author of that classic work *Des Indes à la Planète Mars*, was present at the sitting at which Myers attended, and in his *Esprits et Médiums* (Genève, Paris, 1911), pp. 405 ff., has left us an account of it.

Eusapia was apparently aware that now was her chance to restore her reputation in the eyes of the Cambridge investigator whose guest she had been and whom she had so often tried unsuccessfully to deceive. The conditions were as different from those at Cambridge as well they could be. Instead of darkness a semi-obscurity was permitted which allowed all the movements of the medium to be seen by the observers. No longer were Eusapia's hands laid *on* those of her controllers: they *held* her wrists and ankles. Moreover, she told the observers what to expect before it happened; and although these notices were not always fulfilled they were useful inasmuch as they allowed the controllers to verify their holds. The phenomena were simple and clear-

cut. The heavy curtains of the window recess which served as a cabinet bulged out as if impelled by a strong breeze from outside; the zither, which had been placed on the ground behind the curtain out of Eusapia's reach, sounded a number of times on the same note, and then was heard jumping about on the ground, finally being thrown on the table between the observers, who at times felt themselves being touched, struck and pinched by a large hand while the medium's hands were clearly visible and held at the wrists by the controllers.

Mr. Myers was convinced: and when he returned to London he said so, although I do not think that it has ever been revealed what he said or thought when his notes were declared worthless by Dr. Hodgson, who, from his office in Boston, was supporting the Sidgwicks in their attempt to put that vulgar cheat Eusapia beyond the pale.

Eusapia was now at the height of her fame. The adverse report of the Cambridge committee was forgotten, and European, and above all Italian, scientific men were anxious to obtain sittings with the medium and confirm or refute the claims that had been made regarding her alleged extraordinary powers. It was, moreover, easier for them to deal with Eusapia than it was for others. She was a Neapolitan and felt at home among her own people, where she could indulge in sly jokes and piquant tales accompanied by her inimitable coy winks. At sittings she both fascinated and dominated those around her: she it was who controlled the proceedings and produced what her followers wished to see. She was the Queen of the Cabinet and her subjects—especially when male—were duly submissive to her sway.

Women, on the other hand, were hardly so susceptible. The unashamed exhibition of her erotic needs: her tales of her invisible lover and her first child at the age of sixteen—all these features of her character were such that men were both impressed and attracted, whereas women were repelled. Indeed, it was suggested that her erotic spell was such that when controlled by two men during the séances they were rendered incapable of both criticism and judgment. The Queen had transformed her subjects into slaves. Was it thus that her sway was maintained over so many years? Was the attention of her examiners diverted by Eusapia as a woman to such an extent that they forgot their duty towards Eusapia as a medium? Certainly some such theory was suggested in certain quarters, but it seemed to have little effect on Eusapia's triumphs.

From May 17 to June 8, 1901, she was at Genoa and a series of séances were arranged under the auspices of a society, Il Circolo Scientifico Minerva, which had been formed for the purpose of investigating psychical phenomena. This society had at that time as its president Luigi A. Vassallo, one of the most highly esteemed of Italian journalists, and numbered among its members various scientific and literary figures such as the astronomer Professor Francesco Porro; Dr. Giuseppe Venzano, a medical man; Professor Enrico Morselli, Director of the Clinic for Nervous and Mental Diseases at Genoa, and many

others. It is doubtful if any detailed and systematic notes were taken at these sittings.

The best account, although marred by too much attention being paid to theory, was that by Professor Morselli, who in his book *Psicologia e "Spiritismo"* (Torino, 1908) gave a day-to-day account of his impressions and reactions. He candidly admitted that Eusapia in her normal state showed extraordinary ingenuity when fraudulent, and, while recognizing that during the sittings her hands and feet were in a condition of almost perpetual motion, he nevertheless concluded that at least 75 per cent of the phenomena witnessed by him were genuine.[1]

In the winter (November 21–December 31) of the same year the Minerva circle held another series divided into three groups, of which Professor Morselli directed one and published his impressions in his book above mentioned.[2] Some of the phenomena observed during this second series were very curious. Thus on the evening of December 13 some remarkable lights like dancing fireflies were seen. One of these lights actually settled on the palm of Mr. A. Omati, an engineer by profession, who was able to examine it carefully. He experienced no sensation of heat and the surrounding skin was hardly illuminated. It was seen and then suddenly went out in a flash, so it was impossible for Omati to retain it although he tried to do so.

Again, at a private sitting held at the house of Mr. Giambattista Avellino on March 1, 1902, Eusapia consented to lie down on a camp bed, to which she was tied with two lengths of cord. One of these was first fastened to the lateral bar of the bed and then passed over Eusapia's body, tied to the further bar and then pulled forward and wound round and knotted to her two wrists, being finally again passed under the external bar of the bed. The second rope was in the same way twisted round her ankles and then knotted with the two ends being first fastened together and then secured to the lower cross-bar of the bed.

Under these conditions, and with the light sufficiently good to read small print or to see the time by a watch, some surprising phenomena were reported. After about half an hour, during which only a few table movements were observed, the curtains of the cabinet within which Eusapia was lying opened at about six and a half feet from the ground and a face and upper part of the body of a young woman appeared. The head was enveloped in some form of head-dress, but as the supposed phantom only remained visible from fifteen to twenty seconds it was not possible to make any detailed examination.

After a brief interval another head and shoulders appeared in the curtain opening, and this time it seemed to be a man who was showing himself. The face was broad with large cheek-bones, the nose turned up and somewhat large, while the beard seemed thick, short, bristly and inclined to curl. When this too had vanished, Morselli entered the cabinet to verify the state of the cords which bound Eusapia. He found her tied as at first, but not wishing to

[1] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 246 : 308 : 312.
[2] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 3 ff.

cause her discomfort he freed her wrists, leaving her secure by the feet and waist. Two more phantoms were then seen, and when the fourth had vanished Morselli again entered the cabinet. This time he found that additional knots had been made in the cords, which now encircled her wrists tightly. Not wishing to cause her further inconvenience, he and Avellino untied her arms and legs, leaving her secured only around the upper part of the body.

Having resumed their seats Morselli and his host continued the sitting, and further forms were seen, the séance soon afterwards closing and leaving Eusapia in an exhausted and suffering condition.[1]

In discussing the events of the evening Morselli found himself at a total loss to explain what he had seen in normal terms. He dismisses, although I think with entirely insufficient reason, the supposition that Eusapia had released herself from her bonds and posed as the "phantoms", or that she made use of artificial aids in order to make them appear at the opening of the curtains. Whatever may be the truth regarding the appearances (and confederacy seems excluded under the given conditions), the urgent necessity of photographic and other registration of the phenomena became more apparent than ever, although unfortunately the investigators at the period were not so well equipped as we are today when there seem no phenomena to record.

The publication of the events at Mr. Avellino's house created still further interest in Eusapia and her manifestations, and attention was not solely confined to the Continent. For two years before the events just related an Englishman, Mr. W. W. Baggally, who was not favourably disposed to the ban put upon Eusapia by the leaders of the Society for Psychical Research, visited Naples and had a sitting with the medium. He had long been interested in conjuring and what could be done by various ingenious tricks, but the Queen of the Cabinet impressed him. The sitting was held in his own room at the hotel where he was staying, and the street lamp outside sufficed to provide him illumination in the room. What baffled him was that when he was holding both Eusapia's hands he saw silhouetted against the light from the window an opaque body resembling an arm which gradually rose towards the ceiling, an appearance which repeated itself at his request. Mr. Baggally did not know what it was, but he did know that Dr. Hodgson's theory of a freed hand or foot could hardly account for it. He resolved to see more of Eusapia. To what experiences that resolution led him we shall see later. For the time being let us follow Eusapia's progress from triumph to oblivion.

The years from 1902 to 1904 were taken up with numerous minor sittings which need not detain us and an account of which would be both tedious and unprofitable. But from 1905 to 1908 there were three major series of experiments, all of which are of some importance and considerable interest. In the first place Professor Morselli initiated a series of fresh trials at Genoa. Six sittings were again held from December 27, 1906, to January 10, 1907. It may well have been that these tests were to enable Morselli to revise his previous

[1] For a detailed account of this sitting see E. Morselli, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

opinion of Eusapia, since it appears that in 1906 she had been both in Paris and also in Milan and in both cities the results achieved were not regarded with favour. I am not aware if the detailed records of the Paris series are extant. They have certainly not been printed; and rumour had it that the sittings were as unproductive of genuine phenomena as was the earlier series in Cambridge. However that may be, the Genoa sittings were a brilliant success.

Eusapia had changed a good deal since Morselli had last seen her. She was now pale, looked older and thinner, while she consistently maintained an expression on her face which indicated suffering. Her wrinkles had deepened, and seen in profile her face had something about it which reminded him of a rapacious bird. Her gaiety had disappeared: she had become languid and lacked appetite, although she constantly suffered from thirst and was clearly diabetic. The Queen was no longer what she was, her health was failing, yet she had to continue to do the only work of which she knew anything. However uneducated and simple Eusapia may have been, she was no fool. The séance room is a unique laboratory for the study of the psychology of credulity, knavery and mental dissociation. She must have seen plenty of it in her day and must have been filled at times with cynical amusement at the fulsome thanks and praise that greeted the results of some of her clever tricks. It is possible that this was the reason for the unsatisfactory nature of her performances in Paris and Milan. But with Morselli it was different. He was not unsympathetic to her; and his invitation to Mr. Ernesto Bozzano to be present showed that she was to have at least one sitter who could scarcely be accused of extreme scepticism.[1]

The results of the series were highly satisfactory to Dr. Morselli. Indeed, they confirmed his belief in Eusapia, since, although he noted a number of tricks during the sittings, he observed so many other extraordinary phenomena that doubt could no longer be maintained. Objects were constantly moved without apparent contact: hands of various kinds were both seen and felt, sometimes four feet above the medium's head and even when she was tied down to a camp bed by broad bands such as those in use at that time for restraining violent maniacs.

Although minute-to-minute notes were not taken at the time, Dr. Morselli was careful to draw up an account of each sitting soon afterwards, and these notes, supplemented by Luigi Barzini's independent version, give us a vivid picture of what were some of the most successful tests in the whole of Eusapia's career. But instrumental registration was still lacking. It is true that at a number of séances held in Turin in February 1907 under the auspices of Professor Lombroso and later by Dr. C. Foa, attempts were made to employ recording devices for this purpose, but the results were not very encouraging, and it was left to certain investigators in Paris and Naples to devise better means for

[1] Ernesto Bozzano (1862-1945) was one of the leaders of the Italian spiritualists and a prolific writer whose works were not distinguished by that critical spirit so necessary in psychical research.

installing apparatus which might help towards lessening the amount of belief in human testimony. It might, it was hoped, then be possible to photograph some of the more strange appearances which had been constantly observed during the séances. For example, what were those uncanny black, globular objects like heads made of cobweb which used to advance from within the dim recesses of the cabinet and then withdraw as if shunning the light? Or those shadowy appendages like black arms with knobbly ends which used to shoot up from between the curtains only again to vanish and give way to flat, black gesticulating shapes like strange silhouettes endowed suddenly with a transient life?

In Naples from April 17 to July 5, 1907, Professor P. Bottazzi, the Director of the Physiological Institute at the University of Naples, conducted a number of experiments in his own laboratory. Much thought had been expended on devising a number of mechanical registration instruments, and the series can be regarded as one of the first serious attempts to turn from séances confined to simple observation of the phenomena to sittings in which the objective nature of the various manifestations could be verified and recorded. Although the séances were rich in some astonishing phenomena of the familiar kind, the observers had had practically no experience in psychical research, and it seems that the records suffered thereby.

At intervals, however, from 1905 to 1908 Eusapia had visited Paris, where another series of sittings was held which are of considerable importance. It must be remembered that the controversy over Eusapia had now reached a peak. She was getting old and the sittings were leaving her in a more and more exhausted state every year. At the beginning she was still talkative and lively when she found the sitters sympathetic and to her liking. At the end she seemed years older, with her face yellowed, seamed and wrinkled. When going home she could hardly walk, dragging one foot after the other as if on the verge of collapse. Accordingly Mr. Jules Courtier of the Institut Général Psychologique had invited the medium to co-operate in a number of sittings to be held in the Institute's laboratory or elsewhere, a proposition to which she readily consented, and forty-three of these sittings were held in Paris at intervals from 1905 to 1908.

Mr. Courtier and his colleague Mr. S. Youriévitch, the Secretary-General, had devised an ambitious programme of research. To begin with they hoped not only to observe and control the phenomena but to register their actual occurrence by means of simple recording devices, and thus avoid the possibility of hallucination. Secondly, they planned to make a series of observations on the general physical conditions such as barometric pressure, temperature, humidity and electrical and other changes occurring in the proximity of the medium. Finally, they decided to conduct a number of physiological and psychological tests on the medium herself, examining her circulation, pulse, cutaneous sensibility and so forth. How far the authorities at the Institute were capable of carrying out successfully such a programme I am not prepared

to say. But I suspect that the sittings were not conducted in a manner which today would satisfy a serious and competent psychical researcher.

As is the case with all mediums who have sat for many years, the séances followed the usual pattern which had long been the custom with Eusapia. She was seated in front of a curtained recess or cabinet, and in front of her was a small oblong table at the sides and end of which the observers were grouped. Two of the assistants controlled the hands and feet of the medium as far as they were able to do so, whilst the others held hands and thus formed a circle or chain. Generally speaking, séances with Eusapia began with the maximum light, but as time went on the light was gradually diminished and sometimes turned off altogether.

The phenomena consisted mainly of movements and complete levitations of the table, raps, blows and scratching sounds of various kinds, the movement and sometimes the transposition of objects placed within the cabinet, a variety of touches which were felt by the assistants when Eusapia's hands and feet were apparently well controlled, luminous phenomena such as sparks and patches of bluish phosphorescent appearance, and finally what looked like hands and black "limbs" resembling silhouettes, which were seen both above the medium's head and emerging rapidly from within the cabinet and then retreating.

It is unnecessary here to describe in any detail the course of the tests or to enumerate the effects of the phenomena on the mechanical apparatus employed. But one result of the committee's inquiry was to establish without any shadow of doubt that many of the phenomena were objective and not due to any kind of hallucination on the part of the observers. With the medium's chair placed upon a balance it was evident that when the table was completely levitated an increase of her weight resulted roughly corresponding with the weight of the table. Similarly, the movements of a small table placed some three feet from the medium were recorded, and the stenographer's notes taken during the series testify to the substantial accuracy of the observations.

Now and then Eusapia consented to lie down on a couch placed within the cabinet. To this couch she was tied with tapes and her sleeves pinned to the material attached to it. With the medium in this position Mr. Courtier took up his station within the cabinet and at one end of the couch, and then, in the darkness, he was able to see vague luminous shapes seemingly rise from the centre of where he judged Eusapia's body to be lying and float towards the crack between the curtains. As they advanced towards the cleft they appeared to condense somewhat, and were then seen by the other observers outside the cabinet. On another occasion when all the assistants were outside the cabinet, and with Eusapia lying tied on the couch inside, they saw what looked like a vague head and bust apparently covered with a white cloth of some kind.

The physiological and psychological examination of the medium did not yield any striking results. Since Eusapia constantly complained of extreme sensitivity in her hands, wrists and forearms, attempts were made to measure

the amount of this alleged hyperaesthesia, but the results, although suggesting some abnormality, cannot be said to have been entirely satisfactory.

At the end of their inquiry the committee summed up their conclusions in an important and interesting analysis. From the general tone of their report it is clear that they were quite unable to come to any final decision on what they had experienced. They fully recognized not only that Eusapia was an adept at substitution of hands, as had already been made abundantly clear during the Cambridge inquiry, but also that the whole method of the control of hands and feet was wholly unsatisfactory. At the same time they were constantly confronted by the persistent refusal of the medium to submit to a control which would have effectually put a stop to the exercise of normal and fraudulent manœuvres. They were faced with that dilemma which seems always present in the investigation of the physical phenomena.

Two lines of action are open. Control the medium rigidly and get nothing at all, or relax control in the hope of obtaining phenomena which, from their very nature, could not conceivably be produced normally under the conditions obtaining at the time. The committee, faced by this alternative, chose neither the one nor the other. They preferred to institute an admittedly ineffectual control and concentrate their attention on the mechanical registration of the effects produced, thereby finding themselves unable to pronounce on the origin and nature of the force exercising those effects. Certainly now and then the fraud was patent and manifest. But at other times it was very difficult to see how some of the effects could be produced, such as the advance *and* retreat of the little table and the mysterious hands appearing over Eusapia's head and emerging from between the curtains. Again, the range of the "force" never seemed to be beyond the limit of the medium's reach, and none of the spectacular effects witnessed on the Ile Roubaud were seen in the Paris series. Perhaps it was true that Eusapia's supernormal powers, if she ever had any, were waning. The committee could not decide. They retired from the contest, dispirited, baffled, but still hopeful. The Queen of the Cabinet had not yet been effectually dethroned.[1]

The report of the Paris sittings, coupled with those in Italy, created intense interest. In spite of all the efforts that had been made, it still seemed impossible to come to any decision. It is true that some of the observers had no longer any doubt. Morselli was convinced and so was Bottazzi, but others preferred to keep an open mind until further and conclusive evidence was forthcoming. The leaders of the Society for Psychical Research still harped on the skill with which Eusapia freed a hand or foot; and were inclined to the opinion that the whole of the phenomena might be due to this, together with a few simple pieces of apparatus and the incompetence, blunders and credulity of the sitters.

A good deal could certainly be said for this point of view, and my own

[1] For an American analysis see J. H. Leuba in *Putnam's Magazine*, January 1910, VII, pp. 407 ff.

almost incredible experiences with the credulity and carelessness of certain European observers has led me to think that more could be said on this matter than the Society's officials have ever seen fit to publish. Yet the situation was frankly almost impossible to credit. With the exception of the freeing of hands and feet and a few minor and rather clumsy tricks with the simplest aids, nothing had been discovered by group after group of investigators which would help to explain phenomena which did not depend in any way on these methods of trickery. The visible hands which were observed when the medium's own hands were held and at the same time were visible to the sitters; the appearance of black "limbs" or stalks somewhat resembling knobkerries made of cobweb; the table movements in the light, and the transport of objects back and forth from the table at which the sitters were grouped: all these seemed to defy explanation, and that which was offered seemed weak and unconvincing to anyone acquainted with normal methods by which such phenomena could be simulated. This question had to be asked and answered before it was too late.

Was it really a fact that the problem was beyond the capacity of sane men in full possession of their senses and knowing in advance what to expect? Were the conditions imposed such that it was to be for ever impossible to decide one way or the other? Would the whole claim that the phenomena were supernormal be blown sky-high were three or more persons fully cognizant of trick methods and conjuring devices to sit with the medium and examine her pretensions? Time was short, but at last it seemed that something of the kind might be arranged.

In the winter of 1908 the American psychical researcher Mr. Hereward Carrington was in London. He had had a very considerable experience with fraudulent mediums, exposing them one after another, and as the author of a book[1] on the subject in which a survey was made of the entire field it was obvious that he was fully acquainted with trick methods and how they could be circumvented. Mr. Carrington met the honorary secretary of the Society for Psychical Research, the Hon. Everard Feilding (1867–1936), and the two obtained permission from the Council to go to Italy to see Eusapia. They were later joined by Mr. W. W. Baggally († 1928), himself a member of the Council, who had already sat with Eusapia and who, for many years, had studied trick methods, performed them himself, and who was almost totally sceptical as to the reality of any supernormal physical phenomena whatsoever.

I was intimately acquainted with all three investigators. Mr. Carrington was one of the keenest investigators in the United States. He had unrivalled opportunities to examine the host of frauds and fakers who flourished there, and his results had led him to suppose that of the alleged physical phenomena the vast bulk was certainly produced by fraudulent means and devices, as he himself asserts in his book above mentioned. Mr. Feilding also was a man of vast experience and one of the keenest and most acute critics that this country

[1] *The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism* (London, 1908).

has ever produced. He possessed a unique charm, and his sense of humour invariably saved him from the excesses into which others fell when they had become convinced. He was totally unmoved by that peculiar form of moral uplift and infallibility which characterized certain senior members of the Society, and it is noteworthy that he never occupied the Presidential Chair. He would go anywhere and see anything, treating everyone alike from the most humble workman to the dukes and duchesses among whom he moved.[1] Moreover, his scepticism was extreme, although it was modified by an attitude of open-mindedness and an unwillingness to accept critical comments when these were unaccompanied by properly adduced evidence. Mr. Baggally almost equalled Mr. Feilding in his scepticism and desire for investigation. He knew more about trick methods than his illustrious colleague and thus he was better able to concentrate upon essentials. For over thirty years he had attended séances, but had come to the conclusion that rarely if ever had he encountered one genuine physical medium. This, then, was the committee that Eusapia consented to face.

It is impossible here to describe the séances at Naples in any detail. For this the reader must turn to the full stenographic reports published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research (November 1909), XXIII, pp. 306–569. It is one of the most important documents on physical mediumship ever issued. For not only does it give a minute-to-minute picture of what occurred, but also it reveals the changing moods of the investigators under the impact of novel, startling and well-nigh incredible events. It set a new standard in this kind of reporting; and later inquiries were often modelled upon it. The time for complete photographic and instrumental registration had not arrived. If human testimony under these conditions be worth nothing, then the whole question of human testimony in certain circumstances becomes a major problem in human psychology.

In order to give the reader a general idea of the inquiry I shall, with the permission of the Council of the S.P.R., quote from Mr. Feilding's account which he gave at a General Meeting of the Society on June 18, 1909, and which was printed in the following July in the Society's privately circulated *Journal*.

> The séances took place in my bedroom on the 5th floor of a hotel. Across a corner of the room we hung, at the medium's request, two thin black curtains forming a triangular recess which is called the "cabinet", about three feet deep in the middle. Behind this curtain we placed a small round table, and upon it various toys which we bought at Naples, a tambourine, a flageolet, a toy piano, a trumpet, a tea bell, and so forth.
>
> If you ask me to defend the reasonableness of this procedure, I can only say that, as the phenomena which take place in Eusapia's presence consist chiefly, though not exclusively, of the movements and transportations of smallish objects within a certain radius of her, objects of some kind,—it doesn't much matter

[1] Mr. Feilding was the son of the eighth Earl of Denbigh.

> what,—have to be placed there. And as to the curtain, all I can say is that Eusapia believes that the provision of a closed space helps to concentrate "force", and that, as most of the effects seemed to radiate from the curtain, she is possibly right.
>
> Eusapia herself never looked behind the curtain and did not know what had been arranged there. Outside it was placed a small oblong table 85½ c.m. × 48 c.m. (2 ft. 9 in. × 1 ft. 6¾ in.). Eusapia herself sat at one end of this table with her back to the curtain, the back of her chair distant from the curtain about a foot or 18 inches. One of us sat on each side of her, holding her hands and controlling her feet with our legs and feet, while on certain occasions a third was under the table holding her feet with his hands.
>
> In front of her hung from the ceiling at a distance of about 6 feet from her head, a group of 4 electric lights of varying voltage, candle-power, or colour, and therefore of varying illuminating power, which could be altered from the short-hand writer's table by means of a commutator. The strongest light was bright enough to enable us to read small print at the furthest end of the room, and of course at our places at the table, while the weakest was sufficient to enable us to see the hands and face of the medium. On a very few occasions we were reduced to complete darkness.
>
> We had eleven séances in all, at some of which we were alone, while at others we invited the assistance of friends of our own, and by way of experiment, of Eusapia's. The séances varied greatly. It is noteworthy that among the worst séances were those at which Eusapia's friends assisted, while the best were among those at which we were quite alone. As a general rule, though not invariably, the phenomena classified themselves according to the prevailing light; that is, for certain phenomena a feeble light seemed necessary, while for others it was immaterial whether the light was weak or strong. From the point of view of facility for trickery we were unable to trace any special connection between the degree of light and the phenomena generally producible in it. From the first séance to the last, with certain sets back, there was a gradual progression in the phenomena; that is, in the earlier séances they were restricted in variety, though not in frequency of occurrence, while later on they became more complicated. Sometimes they took place so rapidly, at the rate of several a minute, that the dictation of one was constantly interrupted by the occurrence of another. Sometimes they were sparse and intermittent. On these occasions Eusapia would ask for the light to be reduced, but we did not find that the reduction of light had any favourable influence on the production of the phenomena. On the contrary, the darkest séances were those at which least occurred.
>
> The actual procedure of a séance was as follows: About half-an-hour before the expected arrival of Eusapia the room was prepared by the removal of unnecessary furniture, the arrangement of the objects inside the curtain, and so on. One or two of us remained there, while one went downstairs to await her arrival. She came escorted by her husband, who then went away, and Eusapia was brought alone up the five flights of stairs to our rooms. She immediately sat down at her place at the table, with her back to the curtain, behind which, as I have said, she never looked. Sometimes the manifestations, which I will describe presently, began at once in the brightest light. Sometimes we had to wait half-an-hour, an hour, even an hour and a half, before anything took place. Those delays seemed to proceed from one of two causes. Either she was in such a flamboyantly good temper and talked so incessantly that she did not give her mind to the proceedings; or else she appeared so unwell and fatigued as to be incapable of accomplishing anything. On the former occasions there was nothing to do but to wait till she had tired herself out with her own conversation. Eventually she would begin to yawn. This was a favourable symptom, and when the yawns were followed

by enormous and amazing hiccoughs, we knew it was time to look out, as this was the signal for her falling into a state of a trance.

Her trance was of varying stages. It was not absolutely necessary for the production of phenomena of a simple kind, and in two or three séances she remained wide awake throughout and had a continuous memory of the proceedings. Her state of *half* trance, which was her usual condition during the production of phenomena, was only distinguishable from her normal state by the fact that she was quieter in demeanour and by the fact that she professed to have no recollection of what had happened; in her state of *deep* trance, however, which did not often supervene, but, when it did, was nearly always accompanied by the more startling phenomena, she appeared deeply asleep, sometimes lying immovable in the arms of one of the controllers at either side and always surrendering herself completely to the fullest control of her hands. In this state she spoke little and in a deep bass voice, referred to herself in the third person as "my daughter" or "the medium", and called us "tu". In this state she professes to be under the "control" of a spirit to whom she gives the name of "John King" and who claims to be the chief agent for the production of her phenomena. In her state of *half* trance there constantly appears to be a battle between her and this "control", which manifests itself through tilts or levitations of the table, and, by means of a code, gives directions as to the conduct of the séance and the degree of light to be allowed, against which Eusapia herself often protests vigorously. Thus 5 tilts of the table mean less light. Eusapia generally insists on the light remaining up, or if it has been diminished, on its being turned up again. The table, however, persists in its demand and Eusapia eventually gives way.

Now as to the phenomena themselves. They consisted in the first place of levitations of the table at which we sat, outside the curtain. As a rule the table began to rock in a manner explainable by the ordinary pressure of her hands. It then tilted in a manner not so explainable, that is, in a direction away from the medium while her hands were resting lightly on the top, and finally it would leave the ground entirely and rise to a height of one or two feet rapidly, remain there an appreciable time and then come down. Sometimes there would be slight contact with the hands on the top, but very frequently no apparent contact whatever, her hands being held by us at a distance of a foot or two from the table, either in her lap or above the table. These levitations were among the most frequent phenomena and took place in the brightest light. No precautions that we took hindered them in the slightest. She had no hooks, and we could never discern the slightest movement of her knees or feet. We very often had our free hands on her knees, while her feet were controlled either by our feet or by one of us under the table, and were generally away from the table legs, a clear space being discernible between her and the table. Sometimes a partial levitation or tilt would last a very long time, half a minute or even a minute, during which the table remained at an angle. We would press it down and it would come up again as though suspended on elastics.

One of the most frequent phenomena was movements of the curtain behind her. For this she generally, though not always, demanded a reduction of the light, but it still remained sufficient to enable every movement of the medium to be clearly seen even from the further end of the table. She would generally hold out one of her hands towards the curtain, always held by or holding one of ours at a distance of about 8 or 12 inches from it, and the curtain would bulge out towards it. Sometimes the same effect would be produced if one of us held our own hands towards the curtain at her request. The bulge was a round one, as if the curtains were pushed out from behind. If we made a sudden grab at the bulge, no resistance was encountered. There was no attachment to her hand, as we constantly verified by passing our hands between her and the curtain. Nor would any attachment produce the same effect, as the curtain was so thin that the point of attachment of any string would at once have been seen. Besides these bulges in response to her or our gestures, there were spontaneous movements of the curtain, often very violent, and frequently the whole curtain would be flung out with so much force that the bottom of it came right over to the further end of the table. This occurred notwithstanding that Eusapia herself was perfectly visible and motionless, both hands held and separately visible upon the table, her feet away from the curtain in front of her under the table.

The next phenomenon was touches by some invisible object; that is, while the light was strong enough to see the face and hands of Eusapia, we were constantly touched on the arm, shoulder or head by something which we could not see. The next development was grasps *through the curtain* by hands. When I say hands, I mean palpable living hands with fingers and nails. They grasped us on the arm, shoulder, head and hands. This occurred at times when we were absolutely certain that Eusapia's own hands were separately held on the table in front of her.

The first occasion on which this occurred to me is among the phenomena most vivid in my memory. I had been sitting at the end of the table furthest from Eusapia. Mr. Carrington and Mr. Baggally had for some time been reporting that something from behind the curtain had been touching them through it. At last I told Eusapia that I wanted to experience this also. She asked me to stand at the side of the table and hold my hand against the curtain over her head. I held it 2½ to 3 feet above her head. Immediately the tips of my fingers were struck several times; then my first finger was seized by a living hand, three fingers above and thumb beneath, and squeezed so that I felt the nails of the fingers in my flesh; and then the lower part of my hand was seized and pressed by what appeared to be the soft part of a hand. Eusapia's two hands were separately held[1] by Messrs. Carrington and Baggally, one on the table and one on her knee. These grasps, if fraudulent, could only have been done by an accomplice behind the curtain. There was no accomplice behind the curtain.

The next development was that these hands became visible. They generally, though not always, appeared between the parting of the curtains over Eusapia's head. They were of different appearances, dead, paper white, and of a natural colour. I think only once was a hand both seen and felt at the same time, and that was when a hand came out from the side, not the middle of the curtain, seized Mr. Baggally and pulled him so hard as almost to upset him off his chair.

I have followed the general development of these hands through the course of the séances, but meanwhile other phenomena had been occurring. As a rule, after the movements of the curtain, the first manifestation took the form of violent noises inside the cabinet, as though the tea table were being shaken. It was sometimes shaken so hard that the objects on it fell off. It then itself appeared over Eusapia's shoulder and landed on our table horizontally, that is, with its top resting on our table and its legs pointing into the cabinet. It would then, during the space of a minute appear to hang there, partly supported no doubt by Eusapia's arm or ours as we held her hand, and try to climb on our table, which it never, however, succeeded in doing, but eventually fell back.

This transportation of the table took place several times, till at length, to prevent its upsetting our arrangement of the objects on it, we took to tying it down, after which it was once or twice violently shaken, but did not otherwise molest us. After this, however, the objects which had been placed upon it were transported from within one by one. The flageolet tapped me on the head, the

[1] Mr. Baggally stated not that her hand was *held* but that he was absolutely certain that her right hand was on his left hand on her right knee. [E. J. D.]

tambourine jumped on to my lap, the toy piano landed on the head of a friend of mine; the tea bell was rung and presently appeared, ringing, over Eusapia's head carried by a hand which attached it quickly to her hair, and just as I was putting up my free hand to detach it, reappeared, detached the bell itself, rang it again over Eusapia's head, and threw it on to the séance table. While this was occurring I was holding Eusapia's left hand close to my face, while Mr. Baggally held her right hand under the curtain on the opposite corner of the table, and the light was sufficient for the shorthand writer from his table, at a distance of about 8 or 9 feet from Eusapia, to see the hand which carried the bell.

Another class of phenomenon consisted of lights, which at one séance appeared twice over her head, once in her lap, and once at the side of the curtain furthest from her. They were of three kinds, a steady blue-green light, a yellow light, and a small sparkling light like the spark between the poles of a battery.

Besides the visible hands, which were clear and distinct, there were also more or less indescribable appearances of various kinds, in themselves of the most suspicious character; white things that looked like handfuls of tow; black things like small heads at the end of stalk-like bodies, which emerged from the middle or side of the curtain and extended themselves over our table; shadowy things like faces with large features, as though made of cobweb, that shot with extreme rapidity and silence from the side of the curtain.

There were also other phenomena, but the last which I shall touch on now were movements of objects outside the curtain at a distance from Eusapia of from one to three feet. I speak chiefly of a stool which was placed on the floor, about a yard from Eusapia. She held her hand towards it, held by one of us, and presently the stool moved towards her; she then made gestures of repulsion, and it moved away from her. The shorthand writer, who, during part of the time, was standing close to it, passed his hand round it several times to ascertain that it had no attachment, but it continued to move. There was a clear space between her and it. The light was sufficient for me to follow the movements of the stool while I was standing up at the end of the table furthest from Eusapia.

Mr. Feilding ended his address by the following impressive conclusions:

> While I have convinced myself of the reality of these phenomena and of the existence of some force not yet generally recognized which is able to impress itself on matter, and to simulate or create the appearance of matter, I refrain for the present from speculating upon its nature. Yet it is just in this speculation that the whole interest of the subject lies. The force, if we are driven, as I am confident we are, to pre-suppose one other than mere conjuring, must either reside in the medium herself and be of the nature of an extension of human faculty beyond what is generally recognized; or must be a force having its origin in something apparently intelligent and external to her, operating either directly from itself, or indirectly through or in conjunction with some special attribute of her organism. The phenomena then, —in themselves preposterous, futile, and lacking in any quality of the smallest ethical, religious, or spiritual value,—are nevertheless symptomatic of something which, put at its lowest by choosing the first hypothesis, must, as it filters gradually into our common knowledge, most profoundly modify the whole of our philosophy of human faculty; but which, if that hypothesis is found insufficient, *may* ultimately be judged to require an interpretation involving not only that modification, but a still wider one, namely, our knowledge of the relations between mankind and an intelligent sphere external to it. Although one may approach the investigation of the phenomena themselves in a light, shall I say, even a flippant spirit,—(I sometimes think that in this way alone one can preserve one's mental balance in dealing with this kind of subject),—one must regard them as the playthings of the agency which they reveal, and the more perfect revelation of that agency, whatever it may be, through the study of them, is surely a task as worthy of the most earnest consideration as any problem with which modern science is concerned.

In these few words Mr. Feilding summed up the case for the investigation of the alleged physical phenomena. If it be true that these things are objective facts in nature, then can it be honestly denied by anyone that they are not worthy of the most careful attention that science can bestow upon them? If, on the other hand, they are one and all due to fraud, malobservation, lying and deceit, can it really be maintained that they are, therefore, without interest? Is not the study of so astonishing a human activity, coupled with the equally amazing worthlessness of human testimony, a problem deserving of the attention of the sociologist, the psychologist, the anthropologist and the psychiatrist?

Let it not be thought that the study is one to be undertaken lightly. Too many scientific men have already shown that without long experience they soon fall victims to the most transparent imposture. It is only in psychical research that these people imagine that they can become experts without any preliminary training. The geologist does not attempt to conduct experiments in bio-chemistry, neither does the entomologist engage in astronomical research. Yet in inquiries relating to the reality and possible significance of these obscure human activities many scientific men think that not only do their opinions carry weight but that they are capable of conducting investigations on their own account. Were psychical research to become a recognized branch of scientific study, as may well happen in the future, then the assistance of men working in other branches of science will be invaluable in helping to elucidate some of those problems connected with their own subjects. But to put them in charge of the actual investigation is to invite disaster. To see the scientific man in the séance room is often to realize how little his scientific training has done to help him to make objective studies and come to balanced judgments. He often reveals himself as a mere technician, skilled in one particular branch of inquiry.

In psychical research much more is needed than an expert acquaintance with only one subject. In this field the investigator must be something of an anthropologist, psychologist and statistician combined. But above all he must know human beings, and try to understand as far as he is able why and how they behave as they do. He must have infinite patience and learn to suffer fools gladly, and at the same time have a thorough acquaintance with the principles underlying conjuring, fraud generally and the psychology of misdirection.

Since there is no training to be obtained in psychical research it follows that there are hardly any reliable psychical researchers, although there are many who style themselves such. No young man or woman without substantial private means is likely to embark on so hazardous, so hard and so unpopular

a course of study. The result is that from century to century we go floundering on in a morass of doubt, fraud, imbecility and incompetence. Yet it is probable that some of the problems could be settled in five years at the cost of a few thousand pounds. The lack of money is one of the fundamental difficulties in psychical research. It was money that took Eusapia Palladino to the United States, there to meet with her final and most publicized disaster.

Before hearing the story of the closing years of Eusapia's mediumship, the reader will probably want a specimen of the kind of report that Messrs. Carrington, Baggally and Feilding made during the Naples sittings. For example here is an incident during the seventh sitting on December 7, 1908. At 11.17 p.m. Eusapia's left hand was held in Mr. Feilding's and was visible on the table. Similarly her left foot was pressed on his, and her right hand was in Mr. Baggally's left hand, her right foot being on his left. The report continues:

> 11.20 p.m. C[arrington]. A bell from the cabinet is lifted from the small table in the cabinet, through the curtains, and put upon the medium's head and remains there.
>
> F[eilding]. I heard the bell, which had been on the table in the cabinet, begin to ring, and then it suddenly appeared outside the curtain and came over the medium's head, and it hung there and went on ringing. She told me it was tied to her head. I felt with my fingers and felt something like muslin tying it to her hair. As I was looking at it I suddenly saw a white thing which I thought was the medium's right hand come to untie the bell, ring it hard and throw it on to the séance table. This was within one foot of my nose. I could see the medium's face perfectly.
>
> B[aggally]. I saw the bell come out and lie on the medium's head, and also saw it thrown from her head on to the table.
>
> C. I saw the hand coming to untie the bell and heard the bell ringing above her head, also saw the hand throw it out on the table.

The stenographer, who was seated at the farther side of the room at a separate table which was distant from Eusapia about six feet, also saw the hand when the bell was being detached. He reported:

> I also saw this hand distinctly lift, ring and throw the bell, but thought that it was F. or medium's hand. [Note added Dec. 8, 1908.]
>
> F. Her hand was visibly in my right all the time on the table.
>
> B. During the whole of this phenomenon her right hand was resting on my left hand on the table and her right foot on my left foot.
>
> F. I had got the whole of her left hand on the table visibly in my right on my corner of the table, so that it is perfectly clear that there cannot be any question of substitution.

In his note added the following day Mr. Feilding stated that he watched the bell for a moment or two and was about to untie it when he saw "a natural-looking hand" appear quickly from behind her neck, undo the bell, ring it over her head and then throw it on the table. He had little doubt that

it was the medium's own hand which she had freed from Mr. Baggally's control, so he asked him if he had let her hand go. This was clearly proved impossible, as her hand was visible and lying on the table.

Other even more bizarre occurrences took place at this sitting. At 12.5½ a.m. an extraordinary object emerged from the extreme right of the curtain. It looked to Mr. Feilding like a knobbed ninepin and came slowly towards him as though pivoted to Eusapia's right shoulder, made a kind of grotesque reverence about a foot above his head, and then retired with deliberation into the cabinet. Between 12.9 a.m. and 12.19 a.m. it appeared again, but this time rather larger, and "waggled about" for quite a time between him and Mr. Baggally. During this appearance he had Eusapia's left hand in his left, her left foot was on his right foot and his right hand across both her knees. Mr. Baggally controlled her right hand and her left foot.

Such were the kind of phenomena which were abundant during the Naples sittings. The three experts from the Society for Psychical Research were convinced. The fiasco of 1895 was forgotten. The Queen of the Cabinet was avenged at last.

Unfortunately only a portion of the correspondence between Mr. Feilding and the officials of the S.P.R. is extant. From what remains it is clear that Miss Alice Johnson, the Research Officer, still seemed to cling to the idea that Eusapia was a fraud and that her arms and legs were still being freed and were producing the manifestations. One of her letters, of which no copy exists, seems to have exasperated Mr. Feilding. "Why, my good lady," he wrote on December 6, 1908, "we are getting hands,—white, & yellowish; heads, profile & full face; curious black long knobbly things with cauliflowers at the end of them; touches, visible & invisible; handgrasps from within the curtain—one, yesterday, [i.e. Séance VI, December 5, 1908, at 12.11 a.m.] which held my hand with such force that I felt the nails."

Others attempted more detailed criticism; and Mr. Frank Podmore, the Society's severest sceptic, was the first to enter the arena. He found it difficult to dismiss the whole business as mere vulgar cheating. Indeed, he could not point to anything which the investigators ought to have done which they failed to do. The record plainly was unimpeachable. Hallucination was the only alternative to the acceptance of the hypothesis of some hitherto unrecognized force. Moreover, Mr. Podmore thought that it was unnecessary even to assume that the observers were concurrently and concordantly hallucinated. If I understand him rightly he seems to have thought that Mr. Baggally was the culprit. He it was who was constantly hallucinated. When he stated time and time again that he was controlling the medium's hand or foot he was not really so controlling them. They were often entirely free and were producing the phenomena. Mr. Baggally's reply to this theory was sharp and to the point, and the reader must be left to enjoy it for himself in the *Journal* of the S.P.R. (1909), XIV, pp. 213 ff.

After the success of the Naples sittings Mr. Hereward Carrington was

naturally anxious that Eusapia should visit America, and that persons over there should have the opportunity of seeing her before her alleged supernormal powers had wholly disappeared. Accordingly, it was arranged that she should visit America, where she landed on November 10, 1909, and remained until June 18 of the following year, giving in all between thirty and forty séances. The trip was a disaster. With the exception of Mr. Carrington and Dr. James H. Hyslop of the American Society for Psychical Research there was hardly anybody who had any expert knowledge of psychical research, or who was in the least competent to conduct serious experiments.

As a specialist in fraudulent mediums, Mr. Carrington himself was mainly interested in the phenomena regarded as "miracles" and which could be shown not to be due to trickery of any kind. To attempt to present the medium in any other light was futile. Eusapia's visit was in the nature of a challenge, a challenge to find out how she did it. Nothing could please Americans more. The "smart guys" of New York would succeed where Europeans had failed. To them Eusapia was a vaudeville performer, or a circus artiste whose clever tricks made a unique show. A blare of publicity surrounded her even before she landed. Very foolishly she consented to give a sitting on board ship, at which some of the witnesses gasped, asked for the spirits of their dead relatives and fainted. The usual rubbish was printed next day in the press and people were agog with excitement.

Telegrams from music-hall managers began to come in offering Eusapia engagements to appear on the stage. It was a bad beginning. Worse was to come, for it was clear that, whatever may have been the financial arrangements for Eusapia's visit, a certain amount had been contributed by persons whose interest was in publicity and not in science. What they wanted was a sensation to sell their papers; and for sensations Americans will pay and pay well. Eusapia was a "big story". There was something dramatic about her, and as one American writer has put it, "a nation which is conditioned by soap operas and B. films is apt to see drama in everything".

Thus the series began with a séance for the Press. The overture had to be played before the big act came on. At 11.15 p.m. the reporters left to prepare their headlines. Others remained, as Eusapia was disinclined to finish the séance. From the brief extracts that have been published it does not seem that the results of this sitting were altogether negative. The small table placed within the cabinet was seen to be lifted up by a white hand, and on another occasion a large hand was clearly visible emerging from the curtains.

Some scientific men were invited to the third sitting, which was held on November 19, 1909. Among them was Professor R. W. Wood (Professor of Physics, Johns Hopkins), Professor Augustus Trowbridge (Professor of Physics, Princeton), and the versatile Dr. J. D. Quackenbos, a physician who later wrote a psychic novel. All three were inexperienced, with practically no knowledge of the subject, and as the sitting was almost entirely negative Dr. Quackenbos left at the end of an hour as his patience was apparently

exhausted, or possibly because he was afraid he might see something that he could not explain.

The sittings continued from day to day with little of interest to report. But on December 18 a sensation occurred. Professor Hugo Münsterberg, the Harvard psychologist, had been invited, although why Mr. Carrington wasted a seat on one who was entirely unfit for such an inquiry it is difficult to say, unless he was at a loss to discover anyone who was so fitted. At any rate, Professor Münsterberg was chosen as one of the controllers, and during the sitting he was touched on the arm, plainly feeling a thumb and fingers. At the time Eusapia was holding his hand with her left and he believed that the shoe of her left foot was resting on his foot, which was presumably also shod. Then the table in the cabinet began to move and suddenly Eusapia uttered a scream saying that someone had touched her foot. What had happened was that she had dexterously withdrawn her foot from her shoe and, reaching backward with it in the cabinet, had had it seized by one of the sitters, Edgar T. Scott, who, under cover of darkness, had crept to the extreme edge of the cabinet, where he lay down in order to intercept anything that touched the table. When the table moved he immediately put his hand in and caught hold of the instep of Eusapia's foot, which had been inserted backward into the cabinet. It was this stockinged foot which Professor Münsterberg believed was responsible for the touches that he had experienced and which he had mistaken for the thumb and fingers of a hand. It is noteworthy that the Professor had no idea that the foot had been withdrawn from the shoe which was upon his foot, although his testimony as to what he felt or did not feel cannot be taken seriously.

From the account of this incident as recorded in the only accounts we possess it appears that there is little doubt that Eusapia was attempting her old trick of freeing one foot and reaching backward with it into the cabinet. But the apparent ease with which she withdrew it from her shoe is noteworthy, as is also the continuity of sensation which Professor Münsterberg declares that he experienced during this manœuvre. However that may be, the Harvard psychologist saw in the incident a first-class sensation by which he could obtain an enviable publicity. In *The Metropolitan Magazine* for February 1910 appeared an article by him entitled "My Friends the Spiritualists", in which he describes the incident, speaks of the commercial atmosphere and hints at the possibility of the case being one of complex hysteria.

In January 1910 a series of six sittings were arranged to take place in Columbia University, where it was hoped a more serious atmosphere would prevail than at the gatherings hitherto held. A number of scientists had been invited, including Professor R. W. Wood, Dr. Charles L. Dana (the psychiatrist from Cornell) and Professor E. B. Wilson, the biologist from Princeton. Mr. Carrington himself did not attend. The sittings were almost a complete failure, and on May 12 Professor Dickinson Miller, the Columbia philosopher, wrote a sensational report, which was printed in the American Press and was

headed in *The Boston Herald*, "Palladino is exposed by noted scientists as expert trickster." It contained little that was not already known, and previous reports were ridiculed and characterized as "monuments to a grovelling imbecility of judgment".

A more sober account was later published in the issue of *Science* for May 20, N.S. XXXI, pp. 776–80. It is here that we can see that, had the American investigators thought less of publicity and more of science, some important results might have been achieved. Dr. R. W. Wood, the Johns Hopkins physicist, had arranged a method by which he could see through a hole above the cabinet objects moving within it outlined against a luminous chink in the floor, and in addition he had fixed an X-ray apparatus with a fluorescent screen by which shadow pictures could be obtained in the room behind the cabinet at any moment and without the knowledge of the medium. For some reason that has not been explained, this apparatus was never used. The sittings were suddenly terminated, although Professor Wood stated that he was certain that, had they been continued, the apparatus would have helped to reveal how the movements of the objects in the cabinet were caused. However that may be, Professor Wood saw some very curious things through his spy-hole. Whenever anything in the cabinet was moved, the curtain was pushed back and Wood saw "a black object" reaching in from Eusapia's back and seizing the little table. On two occasions this object was pointed, and on a third it was blunt and rounded. It is clear that, if this object was Eusapia's arm or foot, she must have freed it from the control, but there appears to be no evidence that the black object was seen by Wood at the moment that one of the controllers signified that he had lost control, and that one of the medium's arms or feet was free. Moreover, the sittings were not all held in darkness or in a dim light.

On one occasion, with Professor Wood holding one of Eusapia's hands, a levitation of the table occurred in bright light; and he was able to see the space between the medium's knees and the table legs and passed his hand between them and her skirts, thus assuring himself positively that the legs of the table were free from contact with any part of her person. In the report he gives no explanation of this phenomenon, but as he was quite untrained in such observations, any theory that he might have advanced would have had but little value.

In conversation with Professor Wood I was unable to get him to describe the "black object" more fully than he had already done in print, but having got as far as he had it is difficult to understand why the series was not continued, and Professor Dickinson Miller's guess at a "false arm of fine French workmanship" verified or disproved. Possibly the expenses of each sitting were too heavy for the committee. Professor Münsterberg had already spoken of the commercial character of the whole enterprise, and J. H. Leuba declared that Mr. Carrington was "exhibiting" Eusapia "at unheard-of prices". Certainly the medium herself declared that she was sick of this example of American commercialism, but it is not easy to believe that this was the reason, since

two more séances were held at which Professor Wood did not attend, and the scientific apparatus that he devised was scrapped to make way for other arrangements.

The fresh sittings (at $125 each) were arranged to take place at the home of Professor H. G. Lord, a philosopher at Columbia University. For these sittings a number of experts in fraud were invited, including Mr. W. S. Davis, Messrs. James L. Kellogg and John W. Sargent, two professional conjurers, and Mr. Joseph Rinn, one of the most determined sceptics and "exposers" of mediums in the United States.

The sittings were conducted in that atmosphere of sensational mystery beloved by Americans. Two black-clothed and black-stockinged persons (J. Rinn and W. C. Pyne) were smuggled in and wriggled their way under the chairs of each pair of sitters at the sides of the table. If the accounts of these observers can be believed (and I have no evidence one way or the other by which this can be judged), the sittings were conducted in such a way that Eusapia was allowed repeatedly to evade both hand and foot control and all the "phenomena" could be easily explained by the fraudulent methods so well known for so many years. Then the control was tightened up; freeing hands and feet was said to have been prevented, and the "phenomena" promptly ceased.

I am not aware that the stenographic reports of these sittings have been published. All that we have are long and often undated accounts of how Eusapia performed her tricks, and a few of the explanations given are, to say the least, somewhat childish. Thus Mr. Davis declared that the bulgings of the curtain which were so noticeable a feature in Eusapia's séances were caused either by her blowing sideways, thus causing "a slight ripple", or by slapping the curtain with her hand from inside, or lastly by striking the lower end of the curtain with her foot "which sent a tremor along the cloth". Mr. Davis did not appear to understand that what he had to explain were *bulgings* of the curtain *outwards*, not "ripples" or "tremors". Such explanations are merely silly, and the most charitable view to take of the matter is that Mr. Davis never saw anything of the bulgings at all, whilst he imagined that the "ripples" and "tremors" he did observe were what earlier observers had described as "bulges".

Whatever may be said of the American séances, they produced the sensation and the satisfaction that was desired. The "exposure" of Eusapia was achieved. Everybody was satisfied except those who, with experience and expert knowledge, had made a careful study of her under every sort and kind of conditions. The American sittings had scarcely provided us with one new fact. We were back almost where we started in 1895.

Eusapia left the United States on June 18, 1910. Her visit to the New World had not been a happy one, and the difference between the European scientists and those in the United States was startling. She did not fancy the laughing and excitable young men who merely wanted sensational copy for

their papers, for, as she expressed it, she desired to meet only men, and did not feel at ease among those who, to quote her own words, lacked "weight in the front of their foreheads". For such investigators she had little patience, but for serious men she declared that she was willing to do whatever was suggested, a statement which had already been confirmed by her conduct at the S.P.R. sittings at Naples. She thought that she had had a raw deal, although whether she was right or not we cannot tell. At any rate, when she boarded the ship that was to take her back to Europe and home she was finished.

Her health had been failing for years, and now she felt that she was just too weary to go on with the kind of life which she had been leading for so long. For close on forty years she had been Queen of the Cabinet, and during that time she had had both champions and detractors, but she still remained an unsolved enigma in spite of all the efforts that had been made to solve the mystery that perpetually surrounded her. When in youth and middle age she had dominated those around her, and even her husband had to take her maiden name. Who had ever heard of Mrs. Raphael Delgaiz? She was the great Palladino, and men had to bow to her ruling. But now it was over. When she arrived in Europe and the scene of so many of her triumphs she faded out. No longer did scientists beg for her favours in an attempt once more to solve her mysteries. No longer did black arms and grotesque masks emerge like cobwebby shadows from the dim recesses of her cabinet. The Queen had gone into retirement and into an even darker obscurity than that which had so long veiled her secrets.

It was on May 16, 1918, that the news was flashed to the world that she was dead. Obituaries said but little more than what was already known. She had been a public figure in the past and now both *The Times* of London, *The New York Times*, the *Corriere della Sera*, and *The Annual Register* gave the news of her end. What remained was the riddle which, after nearly fifty years of examination, was still unsolved and seemed well-nigh incapable of solution. It looked almost as if some malign influence had so arranged things that the truth was always just out of reach. It was the same story as that of the bleeding pictures of Poitiers.[1] As Mr. Everard Feilding said of them, so we can say of the phenomena presented by the Queen of the Cabinet. They were like shadows just eluding the grasp that we always thought that we were about to close upon them.

[1] See pp. 105 ff.

APPENDIX

Eusapia Palladino: Queen of the Cabinet

The literature concerning Eusapia Palladino is very considerable, and I shall therefore indicate only the principal and subsidiary sources for those periods of her career that have been discussed in the text. The reader who desires to consult a fuller selection of the available literature up to 1907 can do so in Enrico Morselli's *Psichologia e "Spiritismo"* (Torino, 1908), Vol. I, pp. 134–70, and Vol. II, pp. xvii–xviii.

For her early days in Italy see, *inter alia*, *The Spiritual Magazine* (May 1872), N.S. VII, p. 287; *The Spiritualist* (Aug. 1, 1873), III, p. 286; *Human Nature* (1872), VI, pp. 220 ff., and cf. the article in the same journal for 1873, VII, pp. 19–23.

Ercole Chiaja's letter to Lombroso was, it appears, first published in *La Fanfulla della Domenica* for Aug. 9, 1888. A French translation will be found in the work by Albert de Rochas entitled *L'Extériorisation de la Motricité* (Paris, 1896), pp. 1–7. For some of Lombroso's own reactions, see his papers published at the time and an account of some of his experiments translated into English and printed in his *After Death—What?* (London, 1909), a work which clearly reveals the uncritical way he conducted his work after his conversion.

The report of the Milan experiments in 1892 were published in Supplement No. 883 of the *Italia del Popolo*. Further information will be found in *Annales des Sciences Psychiques* (1892), III, pp. 39 ff.; H. Carrington, *Eusapia Palladino and her Phenomena* (London, 1909), pp. 29 ff.; *Psychische Studien* (1893), XX, pp. 1 ff.; A. de Rochas, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff. and F. Podmore in the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research (1894), IX, pp. 218 ff., where he reviews Professor Richet's articles in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques* (1893), III, pp. 1–31.

A note on Professor Wagner's sittings will be found on pp. 111 ff. of De Rochas' book, while a good account of the Warsaw 1893–94 series was issued by Casimir de Krausz in the *Revue de l'Hypnotisme* (1894), 9e année, pp. 1–20, 42–45, 70–79, 106–11, 143–50, 169–79. The original reports of this series first appeared in the Polish paper *Kurjer Warszawski* from Jan. 27 to Feb. 8, 1894. Further details will be found in De Rochas, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.; H. Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff., *Psychische Studien* (1894), XXI, pp. 97–102, 220–23, 366 (for the conclusions), and cf. also pp. 417–25, 506–8, and 606–7. Here will be found the accusations of fraud by the engineer, Mr. B. Reichnam, with which may be compared the earlier accusations of Mr. E. Torelli Viollier in his "Sugli esperimenti di Eusapia Paladino", which was printed in the issues of the *Corriere della Sera* for Oct. 7, 9 and 11, 1892.

The full report on the experiments on the Ile Roubaud have never been

published. Sir Oliver Lodge's report was issued in the *Journal* of the S.P.R. (Nov. 1894), VI, pp. 306 ff., with which may be compared H. Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.; *Journal* of the S.P.R. (1895), VII, 36 ff., etc. For the Carqueiranne sittings see De Rochas, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 ff., and for the Sidgwicks' reactions see *Journal* of the S.P.R. (Nov. 1894), VI, pp. 339–41 and 345.

The unpublished reports of the 1895 sittings in Cambridge are preserved in the archives of the Society for Psychical Research. Extracts and further reports will be found in the Society's *Journal* (1895–6), VII, pp. 131 ff., 148 ff.; and *Proceedings* (1903–04), XVIII, pp. 495, etc., while for other comments and criticisms see De Rochas, *op. cit.*; pp. 191 ff.; H. Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.; G. B. Ermacora in *Rivista delle Riviste di Studi Psichici* (1895), pp. 435–37; J. Maxwell, *Metapsychical Phenomena* (London, 1905), p. 408; and C. Richet, *Traité de Métapsychique*, 2e éd. (Paris, 1923), p. 542.

The 1897 sittings at Montfort L'Amaury are reported by G. de Fontenay in his *A Propos d'Eusapia Paladino* (Paris, 1898), and the references to the Paris séances of 1898 have already been given in the text.

A short account of Mr. W. W. Baggally's 1899 sitting with Eusapia will be found in *Light* (Dec. 16, 1899), pp. 591–92.

The reports of the sittings with the Minerva Circle were published by Morselli in his work above mentioned, and a number of additional references will be found in the bibliography attached to the same book.

For the second series of sittings with Morselli see Vol. II of his book, and cf. L. Barzini's *Nel mondo dei misteri con Eusapia Paladino* (Milano, 1907), which originally appeared in the *Corriere della Sera* the same year, with which may be used the articles in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques* of 1907.

For the Turin experiments of 1907 see H. Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.; and the articles in the *Annals of Psychical Science* of 1907. The original reports of this series seem to have been issued in *La Stampa* and written by the journalist A. M. Mucchi, but I have not been able to consult them.

An account of the Bottazzi sittings does not appear to have been printed in full detail. F. Bottazzi himself deals with them in his *Nelle regioni inesplorati della biologia umana* (Roma; 1907), from which some translations will be found in the *Annals of Psychical Science* (1907), VI, pp. 140 ff., etc.

M. Courtier's *Rapport sur les séances d'Eusapia Palladino à l'Institut Général Psychologique en 1905, 1906 et 1908* was issued by the Institute in Paris in 1908. A summary will be found in *Annals of Psychical Science* (1909), pp. 400 ff., and a long review by Count Perovsky-Petrovo-Solovovo in the *Proceedings* of the S.P.R. (1909), XXIII, pp. 570 ff.

Full references to the S.P.R. Naples sittings have already been given in the text. Another summary by Mr. Feilding will be found in *The Nineteenth Century* (Nov. 1909), LXVI, pp. 789–803.

A general account of the American sittings will be found in H. Carrington's *Personal Experiences in Spiritualism* (London, 1913), pp. 125 ff. Sources where the official reports will be found have already been indicated in the text, but

if the reader wishes to have some idea of the publicity given to the case in the American Press in 1910 he can consult such articles as those in *Current Literature* (Jan. 1910), XLVIII, pp. 49–53, where a possible extension of a human faculty is discussed; William James's "An Estimate of Palladino" (*Cosmopolitan Magazine*, Feb. 1910, XLVIII, p. 299); "Eusapia Paladino: an unsolved mystery" (*Amer. Rev. of Reviews*, Feb. 1910, XLI, pp. 234–36); "The Wonders of Palladino" (*Nation*, Feb. 3, 1910, XC, pp. 105–6); J. Jastrow's "Unmasking of Paladino" (*Collier's Weekly*, May 14, 1910, XLV, pp. 21), etc., with which may be compared the same author's "Case of Paladino" (*Amer. Rev. of Reviews*, July 1910, XLII, pp. 74–84). For the alleged exposures see W. S. Davis in the *Journal* of the American S.P.R. (Aug. 1910), IV, pp. 401 ff., and the supplement by J. L. Kellogg in the Nov. issue of the *Journal* of the S.P.R. (1910), XIV, pp. 386 ff.; and the paper entitled "A woman of mystery solved", by S. L. Krebs, in the *Reformed Church Review* (1910, ser. 4), XIV, pp. 343–83, with which cf. the article by the same author in the *Journal* of the S.P.R. (1909–1910), XIV, pp. 297 ff.

Biographical details and medical, physiological and psychological data will be found in Morselli's *Psicologia e "Spiritismo"* above mentioned, and also in the *Annals of Psychical Science* (1907), pp. 215 ff.; and *ib.* (1909), pp. 423–41, with which may be compared the remarks of M. Jules Bois in the *Revue Bleue* (1902), XVII, pp. 380–84.

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